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Thesis

NEGRO CONGRESSMEN: THEIR ECONOMIC THINKING
WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON PUBLIC FINANCE

by

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INTRODUCTION

There are some aspects of American history that are darkened by inaccuracy and misunderstanding. One of these aspects is the role which Negroes have played in the reconstruction government after the Civil War. With the exception of a lapse of a few years, Negro representatives have been seated in Congress from that time to the present.

It is the purpose of this essay to examine and present in as accurate a form as possible the economic thinking of these men as measured by bills and resolutions which they introduced during their years of service.

A point of caution should be taken before one gives an appraisal of their thoughts on the subject. While their thinking may be reflected in the bills and resolutions which they presented and the legislations which they supported, it must be observed that very few have served over a period sufficiently long to justify the use of their legislative acts as absolute measuring rods for their complete economic thinking. The process of our inquiry is limited to the records of Congressional bills and legislations. It is within that limitation that the following pages are developed.

A very faint, large watermark-like image of a historical document occupies the background. The document appears to be a ledger or a table with multiple columns and rows of handwritten text and numbers. It is mostly white and light gray, blending with the background.

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While some may deny that the economic ideas expressed during early reconstruction are deserving of approval, it cannot be denied that they are worthy of an impartial investigation.

The findings of such an investigation are grouped under eight separate headings comprising eight sections. The first gives the political background which was responsible for the first group of Negro representatives being sent to Congress, and with it is given their interest in the questions of civil rights and amnesty. The second section attempts to give their views in public finance and is expressed through their interest in education. The remaining sections, dealing with local improvements, commerce, tariff, labor, health and welfare, expose their views on broader topics in economics. The last section deals with the works of the two Congressmen who have served during the last twelve years.

Gratitude is owed to Professor Donaldson, who inspired the choice of subject and who has guided its development, to Professor Huse for his counsel, and to Professor Di Venuti for his helpful suggestions.

I

HISTORICAL ASPECT

The period of reconstruction which followed the Civil War presented to the Congresses of that time three problems of great significance. What should be the attitude of the government toward the Confederate States; what should be done with the leaders of the Confederacy; and finally, what part should the freedmen play in the new government? These were the great questions of the hour.

In an effort to deal effectively with these questions, the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses adopted a reconstruction policy which provided for the re-admission of the formerly rebellious States to the Union, the placing of political disabilities upon many former Confederates, and the granting of citizenship and suffrage to the freedmen. Upon this new electorate, the reconstruction of the States was undertaken.

The "4E" plan of emancipation, enfranchisement, equality and education as advocated by Sumner had begun. In July, 1866, Congress had overridden a presidential veto to continue and enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau, in a bill which directed the sale of public lands to Negroes upon easy terms; that the property of the Confederate Government should be appropriated for their education, and that their new made

rights should be protected by military authority. In March 1867, two other acts were passed over President Johnson's veto and the process of reconstruction was instituted.

The Southern States, with the exception of Tennessee, were grouped into five military districts, each of which was put under a commanding general. These commanders were made absolute rulers until the task of reconstruction should be ended. It was declared by the reconstruction laws that no other legal government existed in the ten States concerned. The District Commanders were clothed with power to establish such governments as Congress prescribed. Such was the foundation upon which National Unity was to be achieved.

In some military districts, colored men were appointed to positions of responsibility under the military government. General Sheridan did not see fit to make such appointments in his district and thus aroused the ire and mistrust of some of the Negro leaders under his government.

J. Willis Menard, writing to the Anti-Slavery Standard expressing his dissatisfaction and disappointment, voiced an opinion which was the pattern of many leaders of reconstruction. Explaining that in the city of New Orleans three quarters of the registered voters, numbering seven thousand, were Negroes who were not represented in the military government, he registered his disapproval against Sheridan's policy and at the same time expressed the sentiment of others in saying:

"This is no time for half-way measures, and we are not apt to fully realize our civil and political rights until colored men are found in every department of our government...Federal, State and local... This is our only hope and we shall not let the golden opportunity slip from our fingers."¹

That men should be elected to office without regard to race and color, was accepted by the liberal press of the North. This was considered the natural and logical sequence of equal suffrage. Starting with this corollary of republicanism, white politicians who were manipulating the new votes of the South urged Negro voters to demand a share of the offices in proportion to their numbers.

While the old Whig party of several States, and Virginia in particular, was opposing universal suffrage and stigmatising as fallacious thinkers all who believed the Negro possessed any rights which white men were bound to respect, the radical State Conventions, composed of both white and black voters, was seeking to place their States back in the Union.

With regard to the formation of the radical party conventions in the South, Calvin Fairbank, writing from Williamsburg, Mass.,² to the "STANDARD" expressed "gratitude and hope that such men as Day, Delaney, Garnett and Langston³ might take the field in the South. We may rely upon their

¹ Anti-Slavery Standard, April 26, 1867.

² Incorporated, April 24, 1771. (See Gazzetter of Mass.).

³ See Appendix, P. 9.

wisdom and integrity," he said, "and they will not fail to win the judgments and affections of the people."¹

Under such promotion, Colonel Moss, a southern Loyalist of Missouri, encouraged the colored voters of Richmond to demand that John M. Langston or some other colored man be placed on the Republican National Ticket for Vice President. He argued that unless this is done, the Negro voters would not vote for the Republican party.

The "SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN," in an editorial comment on this idea agreed that Negroes should hold public office and predicted that such will be the case. It went on to show, however, that it would be a serious mistake to elect men because they are colored when there are white men better fitted for the positions to be filled. This, it was argued, would be just as gross a violation of political equality as to elect white men because of their color to the exclusion of colored men of higher capacity and merit. In conclusion, the comment pointed out:

"If the possession of political power is made a question of race, the colored party must inevitably go to the wall, and to just this result tend the evil counsels as such friends of the Negro as Colonel Moss."²

This opinion, though full of merit, was too late to have any effect on the plan of reconstruction in the States.

¹ National Anti-Slavery Standard, April 29, 1867.

² Extract from the "SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN" in the "STANDARD", April 1867.

By July 1868, the establishment of a type of State government acceptable to the Federal authorities was completed in Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and the two Carolinas. Texas, Mississippi and Virginia were obliged to wait until 1870 because their voters would not adopt the constitutions offered them by their reconstruction conventions. Georgia was the last to establish her new government because she persisted in her attempt to exclude Negroes from the right to hold office. When all the States were finally readmitted to the fold of the Federal Government, a goodly number of white confederates were disfranchised with the consequent entrance into politics of Freedmen.

At this period of political changes, there were 78,000 Negro voters and 46,000 white voters in South Carolina. The reconstruction constitution of the State was framed by thirty-four white and sixty-three colored delegates who attended the constitutional convention. State officers under the constitution were elected in April 1868 and the new government went into operation three months later.

The first Legislature under the new constitution contained seventy-six Negroes and forty-eight whites in the House and twenty-four whites and nine Negroes in the Senate. The Legislature of 1870 contained eighty Negroes and forty-four whites and in the Senate, twenty whites and eleven Negroes. Thus for a while Negro majorities controlled the State Legislature. The complexion of other Legislatures in

the Southern States was likewise changed to conform to the dictates of a republican plan of government. It was natural to expect that freedmen, comprising in many communities a majority of the voting power, would elect to public office qualified men of their own race.

It is well to remember that immediately preceding this new phase of American history, land and Negroes constituted the double badge of responsibility and power in the Southern States. The people of the States were therefore faced with hard realities which would require the passing of years to make altogether acceptable. The task before the white population and "disloyal men" was to accept on friendly terms the presence of Northerners who had caused them humiliation on the field of battle, to surrender, by the provisions of the Reconstruction Acts, the wealth which had been inherited or acquired through slave labor; to discard involuntarily the "glorious" traditions of the past and accept in its place political equality with their former slaves in whom they were required to recognize some human values.

Amidst such complexities, political progress was to be made. The same freedom of action which placed Negroes in both branches of the State Legislatures deputed them to seats in the United States Congress.

Between 1870 and 1942, twenty-four Negroes, two of whom were senators, have been seated in Congress. Menard of Florida and Pinchback of Louisiana were elected but were not

seated. It is believed that these men had titles to their seats but they were unable to prove their claims. The presence of Negroes in the National Legislature became, for many years, a source of many sharp debates. It has been argued that because these men were untrained in education, in business, and in the affairs of Government, it was a serious mistake to enfranchise them. Historians of this conviction have viewed with dissatisfaction the seating of Negroes in the highest legislative halls of the Nation. Not all men agree with this opinion, however. There were those who had exactly the opposite view. These argued the necessity of the plan of political and economic reconstruction as was adopted in order to preserve to the Union the principles for which it fought.

The merit of this argument is not at issue here. Our purpose is to limit our consideration to the fact that Negroes were thereby sent to legislative halls in some States and in many Congresses and to the question as to the extent to which they gave direction to the policies which were to govern our economic thinking and to control public finance. Considering the matter in this light, the following question is advanced as one bearing a direct relationship to the service of these legislators.

To what extent--as measured by their experience in public position of trust and by their grasp of public questions--did they show capacity for the type of public service which they

were called upon to discharge?¹

Perhaps this topic may be most properly treated first by determining what were the problems of great public concern during the period in which these men served in public office. From the year 1870 throughout the first year of the administration of President Hayes, there were before the public mind the questions of economic, social, and political reconstruction in the North and West, as well as in the South. The cheap sale of public lands in the West,² the development of transcontinental railroads, the plea for social justice and tolerance between Negroes and whites living in the South, and the readjustment of political control in the Confederate States were the important issues upon which the attention of the Government was focused.

Of greatest importance to these Negro Congressmen of early reconstruction was the solution of the problems directly affecting their race: first to secure for themselves the civil rights so freely exercised by other groups in the nation; second to secure adequate funds for the education of the children of the freedmen; and third to determine whether their former oppressors should be allowed to retain political privileges. To the solution of these problems the Negro legislators particularly addressed themselves.

¹ See Appendix, PP. 1-24

² \$1.25 per acre.

The problem of civil rights did not take immediate precedence. The first problems that claimed their attention arose from the measures proposed to grant amnesty to confederate leaders who had been declared ineligible to hold office. In regard to this matter. Jefferson F. Long, a representative from Georgia to the Forty-first Congress, spoke in a vein reflecting the views and attitudes of many law makers of his time. In a strong protest against a resolution regarding amnesty, he maintained that any modification of the test oath, having the purpose to bring about the general removal of political disabilities would result in "the subjugation of the loyal men of the South to the disloyal who constantly kill the loyal for daring to bear the union flag in public places."¹

Robert B. Elliot of South Carolina was of similar opinion. To him the granting of amnesty was "to pay premium to disloyalty and treason at the expense of loyalty." He cited that the removal of disability would be "injurious not only to the loyal men of the South, but to the government itself."²

Conflicting views were held by these early Congressmen on this question of political disabilities. Senator Revels of Mississippi, revealed his attitude in a speech during the second session of the 41st Congress. There he held that he was in favor of removing political disabilities from those on

¹ Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, P. 881.

² Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 1st Session, P. 102.

whom they were imposed as soon as evidence was received that loyalty to the Union was re-established. He declared that that feeling was not only his own, but that it was the platform upon which the Republican party of his State sought election.¹ He presented a resolution in the Senate to clarify his position in favor of amnesty. The petitions of citizens of his State praying for the removal of political disability were handled largely by him.²

Concurrent with the question of amnesty and lasting from 1871 to the present, the problem of civil rights for Negroes or of protecting them in the exercise of such rights demanded, more than any other, the efforts of Negro Congressmen.

The discussion of the civil rights bill gave the opportunity for one of the greatest speeches made by Robert Elliot. Rising to defend the bill, he refuted the proposition advanced by Representative Beck of Kentucky and supported by Alexander Stephens of Georgia, that Congress had no power to legislate against a plain discrimination made by State laws against any person or class of persons within its limits.

Arguing that Negroes not only deserve the guarantee which the bill provides as a matter of social justice, but that they earned it with their blood, Elliot pointed out the events that led to the achievement of American Independence.

¹ Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, P. 3520.

² Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, PP. 1676, 1724, 1817, 2085, 2302, 2385, 2737.

He directed the attention of the House to the facts that the Negro was not an inactive or unconcerned spectator in the war of Independence, but that "brave men of the African race cemented with their blood the cornerstone of the Republic" when they defended Fort Griswold against the attack of Benedict Arnold.¹

"At the Battle of New Orleans," he continued, "under the immortal Jackson, a colored regiment held the extreme right of the American line unflinchingly, and drove back the British column that pressed upon them at the point of the bayonet. The Negro, true to that patriotism and love of country that have ever characterized and marked his history on this Continent, came to the aid of the Government in its efforts to maintain the Constitution." In placing action behind his speech, he submitted a resolution directing the Judiciary Committee to report a civil rights bill.² Joining with Elliot in support of his contention were Alonzo J. Ransier and James T. Rapier of South Carolina in the 43rd Congress and Richard T. Cain in the 43rd and 45th Congresses.

Much of the efforts of James E. O'Hara, a representative from North Carolina, in the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses were directed toward the protection of the Negro in the exercise of his civil rights. During the debate on a bill to regulate interstate commerce, he offered an amendment

¹ Congressional Record, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, PP. 407-410.

² Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, P. 3383.

to the effect that any person or persons having purchased a ticket for inter-State communication, or paid the required fare, should receive the same treatment and be offered equal facilities and accommodation as are furnished all other persons holding tickets of the same class, without discrimination. In support of this amendment, he cited the Constitutional rights of Congress to regulate commerce between the States and argued that the action contemplated by his amendment came within the scope of this constitutional power based upon such decisions as Norris vs. Boston. Denying that it was class or race legislation, he held that it was made with respect to the "enlightened spirit of the age in which we live."¹ The Amendment was passed by a vote of 134 to 97 with 92 members not voting. When the Interstate Commerce Bill came up for a final vote his amendment was beaten, apparently by those who did not vote on the amendment when it was offered. The same question of civil rights for the Negroes runs through the succeeding Congresses from then until today.

¹ Congressional Record, 48th Congress, 2nd Session, P. 297.

II

EDUCATION

Of much greater importance to our particular consideration were the bills and resolutions which exhibited the interest of Negro Congressmen in the general economic questions of the day and those leading to legislative measures. An analysis of the petitions which these men presented, the resolutions which they offered, the bills which they introduced or supported will enable one to determine whether or not they viewed with understanding the needs of their constituents and nation. While bills of different character were presented by all of the earlier Negro legislators, those embracing petitions for relief of individuals or institutions suffering from some misfortunes of the Civil War were common among them. In this respect they were in conformity with the views and ideas of the Congress as a whole.

Broader economic ideas found expressions in bills, resolutions and amendments relating to education, local improvements and promotions of public works, domestic and foreign commerce, tariff, health, and labor.

Despite the great significance attached to civil rights by many of the Negro Congressmen, that of the education, and particularly of the freedmen was considered no less important.

One of the first to commit himself on this question was Joseph H. Rainey of South Carolina.

Rainey was a man possessed of a limited educational background. He was born in 1832 in Georgetown, South Carolina, and lived during a period of forced labor in his land of birth while the English Chartist Movement grew and justified itself. From a Confederate fortification where he was compelled to serve a cause detrimental to his own interest, he fled to the West Indies and returned after the Civil War to enter politics.¹ During his earlier political career, both as a member of the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina, and as a member of the State Senate, he realized the fact that in the throes of the Civil War new State Constitutions were developed out of the ruins of the old which were conspicuous for their lack of provision for social progress.

That he had a proper grasp of the needs of his country is shown in his forceful speech made in support of a bill for federal grant-in-aid to the various States for education. His clear vision of the future with regard to the benefits that would result to a united nation through universal education is expressed in his House Resolution #1043, introduced during the second session of the Forty-second Congress. In his support of the resolution, he contended that the natural

¹ Biographical--Congressional Directory, P. 1440.

result of the mental improvement of the Country would be to create a better understanding of American institutions and thus cultivate a loyal disposition for them. From the Franco-Prussian War he drew an experience to support his argument for the virtues of universal education when he said:

"The military prowess and demonstrated superiority of the Prussians, when compared with the French, especially in the late war (Franco-Prussian) is attributable to the fact that the masses of the former are better educated and trained than those of the latter. The leveling spirit of the German Philosophers has apparently pervaded all classes of the population of that Empire."¹

The motives underlying these early desires for universal education were based not alone on pride in country, but ambition to surpass other countries in cultural advancement and general level of intelligence. A continuation of grants of public property for private use to railroads stretching across the vast expanse of the Country was a vague gesture to progress if that progress were unaccompanied by adequate education to interpret it. The steady advancement of material growth tends to minimize itself unless it were counterbalanced by institutions created and supported to live long after such growth becomes only a record of history. In these views many leading lawmakers of reconstruction concurred, but the enemies of a progressive society lacked the minds that were bold enough to accept this new concept. Many

¹ Congressional Globe, 43rd Congress, 2nd Session, App. P. 5.

were blind to the country's hopes. The population of the United States then was 38,113,253--a gain of more than 22% over a ten-year period.¹ The West was growing fast, but western States lacked the funds which their educational needs demanded. Federal grants in more liberal amounts for the development of learning was their only request for internal improvement, but sectional prejudices, jealousies and fear of popular education obstructed all attempts to meet the pressing need of the time.

Bills and resolutions for education met the most bitter oppositions from Southern legislators when it was argued that equal distributions were to be made to States according to population. In this regard, Negro Representatives were articulate in their demand for a fair distribution for the education of Negro children. To Rainey, fell the responsibility of leadership in this struggle to obtain for children of the freedmen a fair share in this phase of public financing.

All attempts to introduce amendments to guarantee equal distribution without regard to race and color failed in these earlier Congresses because Southern Representatives denied that there would be any discrimination in the handling of funds for educational purposes. Negro members of the Legislature fought against overwhelming odds on the question

¹ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, P. 313.

of popular education for the masses of the colored population; and in most instances they fought a losing battle.

The same problem of the education for the Negroes brought from Josiah Walls of Florida an opinion that is worthy of comment. Replying to the objection of McIntyre of Georgia, that the establishment of a national education fund would interfere with States' rights, Walls pointed out the importance of universal education over States' interests.

He asserted that the enemies of progress in the South opposed the education of the masses of both white and Negro because of its certainty to liberalize them. He regarded this policy as the motive underlying the opposition of McIntyre to the establishing of a national education fund. He rejected the proposition offered by McIntyre that \$300,000 appropriated by the Legislature of Georgia, of which the Negroes were entitled to a portion, would be shared by them. Continuing, Walls pointed out the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and the burning of Negro homes and of their schools as inconsistent with the contention that they would receive a fair distribution of the school funds. He further reviewed the history of the free school system in Florida and Georgia, and showed the cause of its failure. Concluding his speech with a summary of the prevailing policy, he urged not only for the establishment of a national education fund, but also of a national education system of education whereby the "poor whites" and Negroes of the South might secure proper educational

facilities. He also submitted a resolution in the Forty-second Congress calling for a statement relative to the public lands granted for school purposes, and introduced bills afterwards for the purpose of making large grants of the public lands to schools.¹

For more than eighty years, up to this time, the General Government had been continually supplying aid to the common schools systems of the various States by the appropriation of public lands for their endowment. This policy inaugurated in 1785, repeated in every new State and Territory, had become familiar to the popular mind. As the Country advanced in population and wealth the endowments of schools and colleges increased, until in 1862 there was appropriated to the States an amount equal to thirty thousand acres for each member and Senator of Congress.² The aggregate of endowments thus made to educational purposes reached the amount of seventy-eight million acres of land by 1872.³

To this amount might be added the thousand of acres given over to the Freedmen's Bureau to support the educational phase of its program. With the disestablishment of the Bureau on June 30, 1872 the total land grants for educational purposes

¹ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 3rd Session, P. 220. Congressional Record, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, PP. 87, 88, 3655.

² Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, PP. 2432, 2595, 2663, 2769, 2770, 3055.

³ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, P. 812.

decreased.

R. H. Cain shared with Walls great concern over the question of education. In the Forty-fifth Congress, he introduced a measure, (House Resolution #3809), which sought to "establish an educational fund and to apply the proceeds of the public lands to the education of the people."¹ This bill is similar to the one previously submitted by Jere Haralson of Alabama in the 44th Congress.

It is worthy of note that although Revels served on the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate during the Forty-first Congress, his views on Education had an entirely different complexion from those members of his race in the lower House of Congress.

His only attempt to legislate in the interest of education was found in a bill donating the marine hospital at Natchez, Mississippi, to the State for educational purposes.² He also presented a petition praying the appointment of a Committee to examine Comstock's system of phonetics and to report whether the system ought to be taught at the Military Academy at West Point and at the Naval School at Annapolis.³

¹ Congressional Record, 45th Congress, 2nd Session, P. 1646; 44th Congress, 1st Session, PP. 2714, 3602.

² Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, P. 2738.

³ Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, P. 1608.

In the forty-sixth Congress, Blanche K. Bruce, representing, in part, the same State which Revels represented a few years before while serving as a member of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, introduced a measure:

"To provide for the investment of certain unclaimed pay and bounty moneys now in the Treasury of the United States and to facilitate and encourage the education of the colored race in the several States and Territories."

The bill was referred to the general committee on Education and Labor, amended by Senator Pendleton of Ohio, and reported back adversely and postponed indefinitely.¹

Negro members of the House at a later date were more progressive and deliberate as well as less narrow in their views on this subject.

In the 49th Congress, James E. O'Hara introduced a bill (H. R. 1688) seeking federal aid in the establishment of Common Schools.²

At a later date, Langston, of Virginia, in the 51st Congress, introduced a measure for the establishment of normal and industrial schools for Negroes.³

These numerous measures were invariably referred to the Committee on Education and Labor from which they were usually reported adversely to the House.

¹ Congressional Record, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, PP. 1619, 1953, 2053, 2384, 4563.

² Congressional Record, 49th Congress, 2nd Session, V. 7, P. 437.

³ Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, P. 1650.

The failure of these Congressmen to have their bills for education enacted into laws was to be found in the empty opinion of some of their white fellow Congressmen. During the course of debate over the bill offered by Rainey, during the 42nd Congress, the feeling of the oppositionists to federal grant-in-aid to education may be summed up in remarks made to the effect that if the Federal Government should establish a National System of Education, the result would mean that Negro youths would share equally in the grants. This, it was argued would not bring the educational level of the Negro youths up to that of the white youths, but instead, it would serve to reduce the level of the whites down to that of the Negroes.

The fight for educational opportunities did not rest only with bills and amendments in the interest of education for the young. In the Appropriation Bill for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending July 1888, O'Hara introduced an amendment to the paragraph dealing with funds for the maintenance of salaries for teachers. He expressed his willingness to vote for the whole measure "provided that no discrimination shall be made between male and female teachers holding the same grade of certificate and performing similar duties."¹

¹ Congressional Record, 49th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 17, Pt. 2, P. 1171.

Further discussion on the problem of education will be taken up when we consider the work of Negro Congressmen of more recent times.

III

PUBLIC WORKS AND LOCAL IMPROVEMENT

Problems of local economic character were of as much interest to Negro Congressmen as those of educational nature. Measures proposed to provide facilities for the trade and economic growth of their communities constituted some valuable services rendered by them. Benjamin T. Turner, a member of the Forty-second Congress, having the interest of his constituency always at heart, offered various measures for local improvements.¹ In the second session of the 42nd Congress, he offered House Resolution #958 for the relief of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Selma, Alabama damaged during the Civil War. He sought amendments to a River and Harbor bill for the purpose of raising the appropriation for the improvement of Mobile Harbor and the navigation of the Alabama Waters.² The United States Land Commissioner was authorized, by the provision of a bill (H.R. #2277) introduced by Turner, to bid for and purchase private land sold at auction, and to subdivide same and sell to citizens of the United States in the immediate vicinity of such lands.³

¹ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, PP. 393, 2439, 2447.

² Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 1st Session, P. 2447.

³ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 3, P. 2439.

He further offered a bill (House Resolution #2278) to erect a public building in Selma, Alabama, which was increasing in importance with "a growing commerce and nine railroads radiating from its center."¹

In a strong plea for the passage of his bill asking for \$200,000, he pointed out that there is a need for the building, not only because it will serve the purpose of, and "bring honor to the commercial growth of the country," but also because it "will give work to many who need and deserve it."²

He proposed, through House Resolution #258, to authorize the Secretary of War to purchase land adjoining United States barracks at Barancas, Florida, and develop same in the interest of safety to the defense of the country.³

In the Deficiency Appropriation Bill which was passed in the first session of the Forty-second Congress, Elliot wrote in an amendment covering a grant of twenty thousand dollars for rebuilding the Catholic Orphan Asylum destroyed in Charleston during the Civil War.

Josiah T. Walls of Florida was the most progressive and persistant in his efforts to secure local improvements. In the Forty-third Congress, he labored for the common good by

¹ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 3, P. 2439.

² Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 6, Appendix P. 530.

³ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 6, P. 178.

offering such bills as would make for the improvement of rivers and harbors of his State with a view to the development of local commerce.¹ Numerous bills to improve the rivers and harbors of his State and to erect custom houses, post offices, and other federal offices in his district were introduced by Walls.² He also submitted bills to provide a lifesaving station along the coast of Florida, to amend an act granting right of way through public lands for construction of railroad and telegraph lines through Florida, and to create an additional land district. Most of his amendments were adopted by a substantial vote. He sought further to amend an appropriation bill so that \$50,000 be made available for the establishment of a Navy Yard at Pensacola, Florida. There is no evidence in Congressional Globe to show that this amendment was received with favor by Congress.

Whatever merit this amendment might have had at the time, it cannot be denied that subsequent history of the United States, demonstrated the wisdom and statesmanship of Walls in this matter. Pensacola is, today, not without its importance in Naval consideration both from the point of view of ship construction and Naval station. Contemporary thinking cannot deny that there was in such an amendment a high sense of responsibility for the national welfare.

¹ Congressional Record, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 1, P. 20.

² Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 1, P. 220. Congressional Globe, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 1, P. 88, H.R. 383-385.

James T. Rapier, who succeeded Turner in Congress, continued the policy of his predecessor to secure local improvements.¹

Of two measures introduced by Rapier, one proposed to erect Public buildings in his district, the other to make improvements in the rivers and harbors of his State. He succeeded in enacting into law his measure to constitute Montgomery, Alabama, a port of entry.

Like Rapier, John R. Lynch in the 43rd, 44th, and 47th Congresses proposed measures for the improvement of rivers in the State of Mississippi, for the building of new custom houses in his district and for aid in the construction of the Memphis and New Orleans Railroad and Levee Company.² He later introduced another resolution (House Resolution #6767) to "facilitate the construction" of the said railroad, to regulate Commerce and to promote and protect the postal service.

Robert Smalls of South Carolina also directed his attention to the problem of local improvements throughout his services in the 44th, 45th, 48th, and 49th Congresses.

In the first session of the 44th Congress, he introduced a bill asking appropriation for necessary buildings to house

¹ Congressional Globe, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, PP. 85, 320, 1333.

² Congressional Record, 44th Congress, 1st Session, PP. 321, 1203. Congressional Record, 47th Congress, 1st Session, PP. 4531, 6146.

the business of the post office and United States custom in Beaufort, South Carolina.¹ He sought legislation (House Resolution #4334) in the 45th Congress with provisions to establish a weather observation station at Aiken County in his State.² He inspired the introduction of bills for the building of docks and warehouses in different sections of his State and particularly in his district. He also proposed and supported House Resolution #5455 for the construction of a telegraph line through his State and for the erecting of storm and weather signals at Georgetown and Waverly Mills and South Island.³

His interest in the type of legislations which flourished under his sponsorship was a direct result of his childhood and professional experiences as a rigger, seafarer and commissioned officer in the United States Navy.⁴

The improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi and the protection of the life and property from the inundation of the river was of much concern to the whole country during Bruce's term as Senator from Mississippi. As one of the spokesmen for the State and as a statesman seeking to provide

¹ Congressional Record, 44th Congress, 1st Session, PP. 442, 3754.

² Congressional Record, 45th Congress, 2nd Session, P. 2706.

³ Congressional Record, 49th Congress, 1st Session, P. 1218, Vol. 17, Pt. 2.

⁴ See Appendix, P. 17.

adequate facilities, first, for his State and secondly, for the nation, he persistantly advocated that the Federal Government appropriate funds to undertake the required improvement. Using to good advantage, his membership on the Senate Committee for the improvement of the Mississippi and its tributaries, he repeatedly offered bills and amendments to this end. In the Forty-fifth Congress, he presented resolutions of the board of levies from three counties in Mississippi in favor of appropriation by Congress for the improvement of the levies of the Mississippi River and deepening of its channels for navigation purposes.¹

Bruce realized his interest in this navigation project when the Senate passed the measure and appropriated \$4,000,000 for the job.²

He kept this important problem before Congress urging not only that the interest of the people in the Mississippi Valley be taken care of, but that the financial benefits that will accrue as a result of its commercial importance to the nation will more than justify the cost of the project. As the foresight of a majority of the numbers of Congress at that time was not sufficient to appreciate this statesman-like effort of Bruce, his program for this important internal improvement was not fully carried out. Subsequent history

¹ Congressional Record, 45th Congress, 1st Session, PP. 201, 245; 3rd Session, PP. 1314, 1316, 2309.

² Passed March 3, 1879, 45th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 7.

shows the importance of this national task as it finds itself in completion with recent flood control projects along the Mississippi Valley and the Federal power project as established by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

James E. O'Hara of North Carolina was of the same school as Smalls, regarding improvements. His main interest in this respect was expressed in bills to erect public buildings in his district and to improve, for navigation, the rivers and harbors of his State.¹

Some of the earlier bills and petitions failed to become law not because they had no merit but because, for a period following the financial panic of 1873, there was a policy of rigid economy in the matter of public expenditures. This was a policy recommended by the U. S. Treasury and adopted in part by Congress. It was contended that lavish outlay of money by the Government leads to corresponding habits of extravagance among the people, and would eventually lead to inflation. At such a time of caution, costly public improvements of doubtful utility was less likely to be undertaken than at any other time.

It was argued by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1874 that in as much as the 1873 panic compelled the people to lessen their individual expenditures, it should be the aim of Government to economize. Thus public financing of local improvements ceased for a while.

¹ Congressional Record, 49th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 7, Pt. 1, PP. 437, 1404, 3748.

The successful legislations of those earlier years for internal improvements and the growing success of them over the years that followed justifies the efforts of all those men who labored for a larger social good of the country. In these efforts, Negro Congressmen shared. The contribution of the Congresses of their time to internal improvement has borne fruits many times as the economic expansion of the country continues. The importance of this earlier work of Congress cannot be over-emphasized in the light of the ever expanding economic forces, and particularly those forces which are directing the growth of the Southern States.

Today nearly two thirds of the Nation's crude oil is produced in the South and over two thirds of our supply of natural gas comes from Southern fields.¹ In 1935, the South furnished about half of the Country's marble output. Florida and Tennessee produce 97% of all our phosphates, and Texas and Louisiana supply over 99% of the Nations sulphur.²

The Southeast contains a fifth of the soft coal deposit in the Country with about 2% thus far already tapped.

The transportation facilities of the South are for the most part well developed. It is covered by rail lines which connect the interior with ports and give easy access to other regions. The navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers

¹ Report on Economic Conditions of the South, National Emergency Council.

² Ibid.

serves this section of the Country. The Tennessee River system now being developed by the Tennessee Valley Authority brings water transportation to the Southeast. The important industrial region around Birmingham enjoys adequate transportation facilities. In the Mississippi Valley, along much of South Atlantic and Gulf Coast, the settlement of the Country follows the numerous improved waterways.

Although the significance of river transportation is not generally recognized, it is of growing importance along the Mississippi and in the extensive improvements in progress in the Tennessee Basin. This system of inland waterway now provides a safe route for vessels of moderate draft along more than half of the southern coast. Deepening of the river channels has provided free access for ocean shipping to such inland ports as Richmond, Jacksonville, Houston, and Beaumont. Thus public financing, which had local importance years ago has now taken an economic complexion of great national significance.

IV
COMMERCE

National unity being assured after the reconstruction policy was well underway, there began an era of expansion, of new cooperation, of new demands for industrial development to meet new social needs. An agrarian economy had begun to give way to industrial and mercantile developments. To these demands and new changes, Negro Congressmen gave some attention.

The expansion of railroads in the West, extending the national frontier, brought with it new issues and evoked new policies regarding national welfare. New economic questions, then, had opportunity for consideration. The commercial greatness of the United States was the ambition of all citizens, of manufacturers and agriculturalists alike. Consequently the national Legislature was liberal in its support of the expanding railroad enterprises as an aid in the development of Commerce.

To the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, chartered by an act of Congress July 27, 1866, was added the Texas and Pacific line in 1877. Much attention was given by the Federal Government to the development of these lines and in this matter of internal expansion, Negro Congressmen did their share in support of legislation for the desired end.

The construction of the Atlantic and Pacific Road and the completion of its branches was viewed as a great aid to domestic and foreign commerce. Its completion brought the cotton, wool, cattle, agricultural resources, and mineral wealth from the region it crosses into connection with all the large cities on the Atlantic seaboard and also with the interior centers in the West and Northwest. The merchants and manufacturers of the East were provided with direct and cheaper communication with the commerce of the Pacific Coast, Mexico and the Far East; and there was opened up to them new markets for the surplus products of the manufacturing industry. The extension of the line to important Southern ports of commercial importance such as Memphis and New Orleans develop the capital and resources in the South and gave that section of the country the assurance that their material interests were being considered and protected.

This material reconstruction was designed to restore to the Northern States their greatest and best customers who would, by that renewed interchange of commodities, quicken national prosperity.

The arguments given in support of legislation of this sort were not without very good reasons. The stimulus which this new addition to industrial enterprise would give to the national economy was so obvious that it was almost beyond the stage of debate.

It meant the exclusive use of American iron and a boost to manufacture. Mechanics, semi-skilled and unskilled labor would be supplied with work and wages. Hoarded money would be put into active circulation and there was a fair prospect that agriculture, manufacturing and commercial interest would experience some measure of prosperity. This system of improvement was a definite way of advocating one of the simplest means of reconciling the interests and sentiment of the whole nation, while giving employment to hundreds of thousands of laborers as well.

As early as the first session of the 42nd Congress, Walls had demonstrated his interest in this phase of the national economy and sought means of extending those agencies which tend to promote it. At this session, he introduced a bill making a grant of land to aid in the construction of a railroad in Florida, and to secure railroad connections with the nearest available harbor to Cuba and the West Indian Islands.¹

About this time, the means of communication with foreign markets were disproportionate to the growing wealth and importance of the country, and inadequate to the requirements of commerce. Imports from Europe were re-shipped from a few favored ports of the North to other sections of the Country. While this limitation of port facilities was a barrier to domestic and foreign commerce, it offered advantages for

¹ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 1, P. 79.

strengthening the railroad system of the United States and particularly with regard to re-export to the West and parts of the South. This policy of giving financial assistance to new enterprises was one which was being adopted by States wherever it was feasible. In the Northwestern States, this method was adopted as an encouragement to bring out the wealth from their inexhaustible mines of coal, lead, zinc and iron. The extension of this national public utility saw the Southwestern roads pushing into other territories of the Northwest to join with the lines in that area. Branches that intersect the coal fields united upon trunk lines with branches that penetrated the iron beds, thus organizing a future for American economic solidarity and continuity.

Sections of the country which have been beyond the reach of the market had been, by then, enjoying the benefit of direct and rapid intercourse with the centers of trade.

The geological survey of many States of the West and Midwest revealed at that time a wealth of mineral far exceeding expectation. Thus, what had been a theme of discourse had begun to enter freely into the channels of commerce and was being made the basis of extensive manufacture. Steel works began to be developed, smaller concerns for hardware purposes had gone into operation, and iron mills and blast furnaces found their way to the banks of the Mississippi River. Shipment of crude ore to foreign markets, the supply of zinc, lead and copper, the preparation of

nickel and cobalt had all found their place in the actual industries of the country.

The application of science and inventions of the day gave assurance that the future holds promise for great remunerative returns on invested capital. The adaptation of coal and new processes of coking promised gains in the cost of making iron. The introduction of the narrow-gauge railroad had cheapened the cost of transportation from the sources of mineral deposits to delivery at manufacturing centers. Nitroglycerine and diamond drills were effecting a revolution in the economics of metallurgy. All these are calculated to mean expansion of internal and national economy.

This steady growth in industrial prestige forced the United States to break away from a limited intercourse with foreign nations and directed its course to seeking an unlimited share in the world of trade. As a consequence, new economic questions developed, and attention was turned to additional policies in public financing.

With surplus products requiring in their exportation a large and increasing merchant marine, Congress next turned its attention to bills to satisfy the export interest of the country. Subsidy to water transportation became the next problem of major concern. In an effort to establish federal subsidy to expand the shipping industry, many elements had to be taken into account. One of these was the cost of material. Although the United States was rich in deposits of the

necessary materials for shipbuilding, it was discovered that it would be unprofitable to develop the industry because American shipping interest could not successfully compete with other lines even in the transportation of American goods. The industry was affected by the high cost of labor at home as well as high cost of materials both at home and abroad. Ignoring these difficulties presented by high standard of American labor and material costs, Rainey maintained the view that the diversification of industry due to railroad development demands consideration of Congress on the matter of international Commerce. The basis of his claim for greater attention to international trade was found in the report of the Bureau of Statistics for the end of the fiscal year in 1870. In the Act establishing the Bureau of Statistics, later named the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the officer in charge was required "to collect, digest, and arrange for the use of Congress, statistics of the manufactures of the United States, their localities, sources of raw materials, markets, exchanges with the producing regions of the country, transportation of products, wages and such other conditions as are found to affect their prosperity."¹

The report of the industrial statistics for the year 1870 gave in detail and with approximate accuracy most of the

¹ Approved, July 28, 1866--U. S. Statute at Large, #14, P. 331; 39th Congress, 1st Session.

information asked for in this section (#13) of the Act. It showed in particular the movements of agricultural products toward the seaboard and of merchandise to the interior whether by rail, canal, lake or rivers.¹ A surplus of American goods was beginning to accumulate in the warehouses in many parts of the country. The problem of disposal of them was not due to the absence of foreign markets, but primarily to the decrease in American Merchant Marine and the increasing dependency on foreign ships to transport American products abroad.

In an approach to the solution of this problem, Rainey introduced a bill (H. R. 2390) in the 42nd Congress to aid the West Indian Mail Steamship Company to establish an American line of Ocean Steamship for opening direct trade between the United States and the Republic of Haiti.²

A glance at the rise and fall of American Merchant Marine up to the session in which this bill was introduced will give a background for consideration in appraising the bills and resolutions seeking federal subsidies for American export trades.

From 1840 to 1861, American ship tonnage had risen from approximately 900,000 tons to over two and one half million tons--an increase of roughly three hundred and forty percent.

¹ U. S. Treasury Report, 1870, P. 315.

² Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 3rd Session, V. 1, P. 351.

The chief competitor of the United States in this field was Great Britain. British tonnage over the corresponding period was increased one hundred and fifty percent. From 1861 to the beginning of reconstruction, United States tonnage had decreased from 2,642,626 tons to 1,565,732--a decrease of forty percent, while in the same time that of Great Britain had increased from 3,082,047 tons to 4,265,349 tons, an increase of nearly forty percent.

An examination of the freight business to and from American ports over a period of twenty years ending in 1870, reveals a great decline in the amount of ocean shipping handled by the United States. In 1850, the total national import-export trade was \$330,037,038 of which almost two hundred and forty million dollars was carried by American ships and \$90,764,954 in foreign vessels. In 1869, the total was \$879,442,284 of which only \$290,000,000 was in American vessels. In other words, prior to 1860 about seventy-five percent of the import-export trade of the country were in American vessels, while by the first quarter of 1870 American merchantmen were engaged in only one third of the shipping trade to American ports.

The fact that shipping in American vessels had been thus reduced was due in part to the handing over of six hundred merchant ships to the Union cause during the Civil War--many of which were lost--and too, because Great Britain enjoyed the privilege of uninterrupted construction in shipbuilding and development of commerce during the American

Civil War period. Reviving the navigation and commercial interest of the United States was a task presenting much difficulty. American shipbuilders were faced with the problem of having to pay duties on all the materials used in the construction of ships. Foreign shipbuilders working with the same materials with foreign labor could bring their vessels into United States ports free of duty. This state of affairs caused anxiety among American Commercial circles.

There was eagerness on the part of every citizen to see legislation enacted to serve the best interest of the American public. The strongest evidence on the side of demand for such legislation was presented by the fact that southern cotton culture was fully revived along with other staples of the South. The policy of the Government regarding northern industry was to promote and strengthen them with a view to the stimulation of national prosperity. On the other hand, the national shipbuilding program lagged. It is an industry which was caught in the consequences of the war which brought, as an aftermath, inflation of the currency, advance in cost of material for construction of merchant vessels, and the levying of high taxes on industries. While this state of things existed, it was impractical from the standpoint of national economy to foster legislation to subsidize ship construction. In the absence of such aid to commerce, the next relief sought for demanded the remission of foreign duty and internal tax upon the principle articles

entering in the construction of vessels, their outfit and supply.¹ It was the policy of Great Britain to adopt this method as an aid to her commercial interests, but even this method would fall short of providing the necessary relief.

No argument is necessary to prove that if American Merchant Marine must have a part of the carrying trade of the world, it must possess the same advantages in construction as its chief rivals enjoy. Consequently, the shipping interests in the country demanded a free scope for development. They proposed a system of subsidies patterned after Great Britain and France to alleviate the strain of competition offered by European shipping, already deeply entrenched in world commerce. This was not exclusively a seaboard question; it was a matter of national concern from the beginning of reconstruction onward.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the year ending 1866 revealed the status of the country's trade. In his report for that year he stated that "nearly three fourths of our imports and over three fifths our exports were carried in foreign bottoms."² International Commerce was suffering not for the want of enterprise at home, but for the assistance of government through subsidy.

¹ Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, P. 3368.

² Quoted from "A Plea for Our Foreign Commerce," Hunt's Merchant Magazine, App. 1868.

European countries had demonstrated how a studied plan of aid to their merchant marine aided their economic expansion and assisted them in becoming a world power.

Great Britain was the first nation to offer subsidies on a large scale, and this policy helped her trade expansion to the Orient. Germany favored her merchant marine with liberal subsidies and increased her trade tonnage to compete successfully with Great Britain. Italy embraced the system of bounties to encourage shipbuilding and subsidies to encourage navigation. The success of these foreign systems further encouraged demand for legislation to aid American foreign commerce.

Each congressional session repeatedly brought from within various segments of Congress, proposals to satisfy this need, but courage was lacking to cause effective legislation at an early date.

One of the proposed modes of relieving shipping to some extent was to abolish tonnage tax altogether; but the commercial treaty with foreign countries, as it stood in the seventies, would not permit discrimination in ship tonnage in favor of American shipping without the same advantage being applied to foreign vessels entering American ports. Thus such an exemption would afford no relief. By taxing all vessels, and paying an annual subsidy to American operators, some advantage could be afforded American vessels. They would at least be compensated for the increased cost of

sailing and manning over the foreign vessels. But the problem seemed to have been greater than a grant of subsidy. American shipyards lacked the experience in building ships of iron and British commerce was developed and competing in such a degree that foreign iron beams could be delivered to the Philadelphia shipyards at from five to ten dollars per ton cheaper than American beams. When this condition is coupled with the higher cost of operation even those who advocated federal aid feared to venture into subsidy. Proponents of large subsidies admitted the high cost and probable loss to the government as a serious prospect, but hastened to point out that by the use of American iron, a class of vessel could obtain a character for superiority in material and workmanship. Much faith was placed in American ingenuity and the popular hope was that the same superiority in marine architecture would manifest itself.

Like Rainey, in the Forty-second, R. H. Cain introduced a bill in the Forty-fifth Congress to establish a line of mail and emigrant steam and sailing vessels between the United States and Liberia.¹

This interest in foreign commerce was later reflected and mingled with high principles of nationalism in the Fifty-first Congress. In the second session, John M. Langston of Virginia, made informing remarks in favor of a shipping bill.²

¹ Congressional Record, 45th Congress, 2nd Session, P. 1646.

² Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, P. 3490.

Presenting in support of his position communications from the Chamber of Commerce of the principle cities of his State urging his support of the pending bill, and also information showing the growing dependence of world trade upon the development of an American Merchant Marine, he urged the passage of the shipping bill, with legislation to subsidize an American Merchant Marine that would assist the United States to recover her former position upon the sea. While pointing out causes for the decadance of the American merchant marine, he enumerated also conditions which at that time favored its development. We find Langston, therefore, committed to a vigorous prosecution of any constructive plan leading in that direction. Citing the progress made in the manufacturing and railroad transportation, he threw his whole influence as a Congressman behind the bill, (S. 3736), designed "to place the American merchant marine upon an equality with other nations."

A new trade agreement had just been completed with Brazil prior to the introduction of the measure, and the Chamber of Commerce in nearly every large city in the country and other commercial organizations were active in their endorsement of the bill. It included a provision to grant a bonus to any person building and sailing an American vessel of more than five hundred tons gross tonnage. The popular feeling regarding such a bill was expressed by one of the daily papers as follows:

"True statesmanship, economic wisdom, and patriotism plead for the enactment of the bill."¹

Southern shipbuilding yards had just begun expansion to include the building of large merchant vessels. The Newport News shipyard was the largest and most complete of its kind in America and was being developed by profits from the railroad industry; and although Langston's interest might at first glance seem centered only on the benefits to labor and to port advantages, a study of his remarks on the bill disclosed his true feeling toward international trade. In the course of debate on the measure, he cited from his own experience conditions which warrant legislation of such character. He revealed the fact that during his five-year term of office as American minister and consul-general to Haiti, no American merchant vessel entered the port of his residence. At the same time, he observed numerous British, French, German, and Spanish merchantmen making regular calls at Haitian ports.

Supporting his stand for passage of the bill by communications from leading cities of Virginia in sympathy with the measure, Langston declared:

"The judgment and voice are well-nigh universal among our people that anything which the Government can legally do to rehabilitate, improve, and establish our marine in power upon the high seas should be done at once, in the interest as well of trade and commerce as the general welfare and defense of American interests."²

¹ Editorial Comment, Index--Appeal, Va., Feb. 10, 1891.

² Congressional Record, 51st Congress, Second Session, P. 3490.

He went on to show the pitfalls in improving manufacturing, mining, agriculture, and general enterprises when the national merchant marine is left undeveloped. Closing his argument by pointing out that intelligent patriotism and the national business capacity demand action on the bill, he drew the applause of the House when he said:

"If it is necessary for this purpose to give \$5,000,000 a year, or even more, let us establish ourselves upon the high seas; let us do it firmly and thoroughly so that as we are now the greatest nation on the face of this earth, we shall be the greatest nation on the mighty deep."

The bill was passed with amendments in both Houses of the Legislature and approved. Thus the arguments for subsidy for American Merchant Marine which was started twenty years before had begun bearing fruits.

This law, granting bonuses to builders of ships of a specified tonnage is not to be considered as wholly responsible for the future development of the American Merchant Marine. The modification of the tonnage tax, enacted July 2, 1862, to finance the Civil War played a part of great importance. This tonnage tax of thirty cents per ton on vessels entering United States ports continued after the war until 1884 without any significant change. In that year, its modification brought about a discrimination in rates. It provided that all vessels foreign and domestic trading between the United States, West Indies, North and Central America or Newfoundland were to become subject to a tonnage

tax of only three cents on every entry. It was the feeling in Congress at the time that by allowing the tax to stand at a low rate, foreign nations might be induced to abolish their tonnage tax on theirs and American shipping. This experiment had been tried by Congress from 1830 through 1862 without any results among the more powerful nations. Although American ship tonnage was subject to tax abroad, the provision of their home law was in favor of their development. American commercial agreement with foreign governments was productive of expansion of her export. Among other factors favoring commercial growth on a wide international scale might be listed the established system of education, banking, telegraph, railroad and the great industrial and manufacturing interest. As manufacturers under our modern system produce their goods not as much for consumption as for sale at the highest profit, and are therefore always on a lookout for fresh markets irrespective of how their goods are consumed, American Merchant Marine was bound to prosper. This prosperity is due to many factors; the early pioneering spirit in Congress with regard to development of facilities in the interest of trade and commerce, the discarding of the tonnage tax on American merchantmen sailing between certain ports, and finally the later liberal attitude of Congress in granting subsidies to the operators of American merchant ships.

V

TARIFF

There is no subject in the development of American economic thought that has provoked more discussion among legislative leaders, and in regard to which opinions have differed more widely than the tariff. It has been a standing matter of sectional and political differences since the first quarter of the 19th Century. Throughout the turn of that century and even in later years, this sentiment of the American people remained as divided as when the discussion began. Prior to the rebellion, tariff had no relation to internal taxes, for this form of federal taxation was partly unknown. It had little connection with the American currency because until 1862, although banks had repeatedly suspended specie payments, specie was the only legally recognized standard of value in the United States. With the reconstruction period, the question of the tariff was considered in connection with a permanent system of internal taxes. There was justification for this type of public finance because a large revenue was indispensable for the payment of the ordinary expenses of the government, the interest in the public debt and for a reduction on the principle.

Free exchange of goods between the United States and other countries of the world was a principle with many people,

but it could not be accepted outright as a policy of the government as long as the public debt was as high as it was in the years after the Civil War. Then, duties upon imports were not only necessary for revenue, but also for the protection of those home industries upon which heavy internal taxes were to be assessed.

The ever important topic of the day was the question of raising the necessary revenue under a system of internal and external taxes without sustaining monopolies, without discouraging industry and enterprise, and without repressing labor. Tariff was considered most effective in this direction. A modification of the tariff laws was considered the best way to adjust and equalize the duties upon foreign imports with the internal taxes upon home production. Not all legislators share this opinion. The stream of tariff discussion has three well defined channels. The free trader holds the view that all taxes on foreign merchandise exceeding the rates imposed on home production are unjust. Those who argued for tariff for revenue only rest their argument on the need of the national government to meet its expenses, and recognize the incidental benefits to home producers. This group denies the constitutionality of all taxation imposed for protection only. The third group takes in the outright protectionist who maintains the constitutional rights and the patriotic duty to levy taxes on imports, with the double purpose of encouraging national industry of all sorts and of

raising a revenue as well.

Those who argued against this policy expressed the opinion that a policy of universal free trade would go far towards solving the economic difficulties of the world. This is a line of thought in which no Negro Congressman shared, for although there were many who were international in their outlook, it has always been paramount in their minds that the needs as well as the national economic opinion of individual countries must be considered if success in international trade is to be attained. Their thinking has never failed to take into account the varying level of economic development among the different nations of the world. Economic internationalism, as they saw it, is contingent on the internal commercial strength of the nations engaged in interchange of consumer goods. In short, their theory was based on their conviction that the economic relations of one country towards other foreign countries must depend on its own material prosperity, which in turn depends on the development of its own power of production, either of manufactured goods or agricultural products.

In the Forty-second Congress, Josiah T. Walls sought to amend the tax and tariff bill relative to certain commodities produced in the State of Florida.¹ He argued in favor of a tariff for protection as opposed to one for revenue only; and

¹ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 1st Session, P. 3570.

with this view he voiced the opinion of many other Negro Congressmen of his day and also anticipated the views of others who were to follow. The cumulative views in favor of the question of protection for home products were expressed with the belief that it is undesirable that any industry of any importance to the national economic strength, should be allowed to be weakened by foreign competition or brought directly or indirectly under the control of any foreign government. This idea is consistent with their views regarding internal development. It was their attitude that American enterprises, and particularly the country's most important utility--the railroads--must not be abused by any uncontrolled flow of goods which, by their competition with American farms, mines and factories, would render domestic business bankrupt through lack of patronage. An adjustment of such a situation demanded attention, and this attention was unsparing among Negro Congressmen from the Forty-second Congress through the years which witness the expansion of American enterprise.

Turner exposed his deep nationalism in the Forty-second Congress when he introduced his petition seeking opportunity for the development of cotton raising of the South.¹ On that occasion, he delivered one of his most forceful speeches in behalf of American industry and labor.²

¹ Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, P. 4104.

² Congressional Globe, 42nd Congress, App., P. 540.

On a petition and memorial praying Congress to refund the cotton tax of 1866, 1867 and 1868, he pointed out that the tax was not only socially unjust inasmuch as its entire burden is easily shifted to labor, but it was also unconstitutional. Proving that such taxes were direct and discriminating in favor of foreign cotton, he argued that a continuation of the measure would be contrary to American system of free enterprise. He held that instead of paying the people a premium for their industry, it was a prohibition of cotton culture.

Of the Constitutional aspect of the tax, he referred to the seventh section of the Constitution of the United States, authorizing Congress to levy a uniform tax.

"Our understanding of uniformity," he said, "is that every State in the Union shall pay a tax in proportion to its population and wealth;" hence, he claimed that the cotton tax falling upon a special section of the country and upon a certain class of citizens is unconstitutional... He pleaded in behalf of the people of the South regardless of caste or color because he believed that "this tax has its blighting influence."

During the Forty-seventh Congress, John R. Lynch urged a protective tariff for the staples of the South, with particular emphasis on lumber, cotton, and sugar.¹ Like Walls,

¹ Congressional Record, 47th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 14, PP. 2312, 2660, 2870, 2871.

he was for a protective tariff with revenue as a secondary motive. As a strong believer in the building of national enterprises through mutual assistance, he supported the sugar tariff in the second session of the Forty-seventh Congress. During the course of arguments on the measure, Lynch declared:

"I believe that a wise and judicious system of protective tariff is one so shaped as will make its protective features reciprocal in their beneficial results. From this stand-point, I believe that those who are engaged in the production of sugar can consistently advocate and vote for the protection of those who are engaged in the production of other articles. I believe that those engaged in production of other articles can consistently vote for and encourage those who are engaged in the production of sugar. All of these different interests being thus protected and encouraged will, in my judgment, result in the benefit and the material prosperity of the whole country."¹

His argument was that the cotton producers of the South were in favor of a protective tariff. He pointed out that when labor was slave and southern staples were exported, the South favored cheap labor and free trade. During 1883, however, labor was free, and it therefore added to the cost of production. These changed conditions, he argued, demanded a policy of reasonable protection for Southern staples. He showed that protection encourages the growth of industries, permits the development of manufacturing interest, "and

¹ Congressional Record, 47th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 14, PP. 2312, 2660, 2870, 2871.

prevent the recurrence of a situation in which the output of raw materials is shipped to foreign market," and particularly to Liverpool, and sold at a price fixed by that market, "whereas goods manufactured from this same raw material are shipped to the South and sold at a price dictated by the sellers." Lynch held that the South needed diversified industries, that a reasonable interest must be guaranteed to attract the capital and that protection was nationally demanded inasmuch as protection afforded the only way whereby this interest could be promoted. Throughout his argument, he inferred to the increase in national wealth, which would directly or indirectly, grow out of a protective policy.

In his argument, he was not unmindful of the economic advantage a protective policy would afford the American workingman. Fellow legislators greeted his arguments with applause because the protective policy was strongly endorsed by the government during this period of American economic development.

Two arguments largely supported this policy. First, it was conceived at an early date that protection was essential to the development of infant industries; secondly, the belief was accepted that to an agricultural country a market at home is the only guarantee of a regular market. Because of the unprecedented achievement of the nation in economic independence, other reasons were sought to support the protective policy. It was contended that the high wages paid



in the United States would discourage producers from introducing new industries which, without protection, must compete on equal terms with products of low waged Europe. Finally, it was pointed out that the owners of great wealth must suffer loss of capital if protection is withdrawn from certain industries, compelling them to compete on equal basis with the industries of like kind of foreign countries.

This was a period of great debate on the question of tariff. The constitutional right of Congress to enact protective laws in favor of American industries was written into the Constitution under the Commerce Clause. The wisdom of exercising this constitutional power was lauded by elements from the West and the manufacturing North. Those who favored a tariff for revenue only denied this wisdom on the argument that the tariff duties are easily shifted to consumers who merely absorbed the cost by paying more than should otherwise be paid for consumer goods affected by tariff.

Those who argue for protection had current trend in international trade and commerce on their side. They were witnessing a decline in foreign profits due largely to American protective policy and therefore had good reason to believe the fall would mean, ultimately, a rise in profits for American capital with wider distribution to the American workingman. All this thinking was calculated to bring national prosperity and diffusion of general welfare into the

American domestic scene.

Perhaps no other element was more responsible for bringing the arguments for protection to a close than the introduction of the Bessemer process in steel. England had exclusively supplied Bessemer Steel to American railroad when it first came into use at a price of one hundred and twenty-five dollars per ton. American enterprise offered to undertake its manufacture if Congress would protect it with a duty of \$22.50 per ton--afterwards increased to \$38.00 per ton. No sooner had they commenced than England dropped her prices. The competition went on without destroying American interest until the sale of foreign steel was but slightly higher than the duty itself. Thus the theory that a protective duty increases consumer burden was destroyed.

Another element which secured for the protectionists the gains which were made in pursuance of their tariff policy was the increase in the quantity of money at home during the years covering the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. The presence of such quantities of money affected the lowering of interest rates and facilitated the introduction of new enterprises. An inquiry in the causes disclosed that by purchasing home manufacture instead of foreign, paying laborers at home instead of abroad, money stayed at home instead of going to Europe. About this period a favorable balance of trade was maintained. Railroad beds were well laid across the country and tremendous profits were

accruing from this industry. An increased home wealth in agriculture as well as in manufactures was aiding the public debt, especially that incurred by the war. New diversified industries were planted in many quarters and new territories were opened to agriculture. Land values increased and the boom period in American economic standard was established. All these circumstances made for diversified material progress and the success of protectionist doctrine.

This success was aided by the fact that Western farmers had a theory that was different from that of the Southern farmers and which they could not be persuaded to surrender.

They maintained the view that American farmers were producing more food than domestic consumption was capable of absorbing and protection for home surpluses was necessary. Their anxiety to see all home industries developed was justifiable. They wanted other labor developed so that more demand would be created for agricultural goods. To them this was of greater importance than purchasing foreign or domestic manufactured goods at lower prices, because it was evident to them that the encouragement of low price for manufactured articles is bound to depress the wage scale of the industrial worker. This in time would mean the lowering of the purchasing power of these workers who are the largest consumers of agricultural products.

Beyond this phase of the problem there loomed a more serious aspect. If tariff fence were broken down to the

satisfaction of free traders, foreign goods which would undoubtedly flood American markets would destroy home competition in many articles of trade as was the case in earlier economic development. The final result would not be the lowering of prices of manufactured goods to the farmer, but raising prices to a high figure once home competition was out of the way. It is an invariable law of trade, that as the markets enlarge and demand increases, price advancement follows with disastrous effect on both consumer and government.

Protected commerce, sold at a high rate in the American consumer market than otherwise would be the case if no protection were given, found justification in more than the ambition of the investors of capital. It gives employment to labor at home; it increases local wealth which is subject to local taxation, while money going abroad as payment for purchases of foreign goods is taxed by foreign government for the benefit of foreign government only.

It was the full and unwavering opinion of Negro Congressmen from reconstruction period onward to the turn of the century that a complete national independence could be achieved only through the support of a broad national program established for a broad public good. They shared with the majority of the Congresses of their day the belief that a tariff carefully presented and broadly applied is capable of aiding in establishing a national economic independence. In

this independence, no phase of American economic life was ever left out of consideration. Although the whole course of American economic history has been influenced by a struggle between agricultural interest and manufacturing interest, happily for American economy this struggle has not been between two types of civilization. In the United States the farmer is part and parcel of the industrial system. He plays a part in the industrial picture of the Nation both as a producer and a consumer. Like the manufacturer, he regards his barn ^{as} ~~A~~ a business from which he expects profit. More than that, he feels today that he subsidizes industry. Whereas the tariff duties on farm products protect him against dumping of foreign farm products, he has paid protective prices for his farm implements. It is in this sense of material economic assistance between the various elements of American business that Lynch spoke of his "judicious system of protective tariff" as one whose protective features should be "reciprocal in their beneficial results."¹

¹ Ibid, P. 53.

VI

LABOR AND HEALTH

Several other subjects of economic character were discussed by Negro Congressmen. Those who served in the Forty-first and Forty-second Congresses had their first experience to deal with matters pertaining to labor through legislative means. This experience was not wide, neither did it last for long. It was occasioned by legislation which proposed further extension of the functions of the Freedmen's Bureau. There were conflicts of opinion over the question of freedom of contract for Negro labor during the early stages of reconstruction. In the constitutional conventions of some southern States, Negroes were conceded nothing but the station of "hewers of wood and drawers of water."¹

Efforts were made by the earlier Negro Congressmen to deny this opinion a sphere in the thinking of Congressional leaders. Accordingly, we find Rainey, Turner, Walls, and Long in the earlier Congresses supporting measures presented to further the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, and particularly its labor and educational policies.

The success of the Bureau in its effort to dignify American labor among all classes of men in the South brought no particular joy to American capital and reaction was

¹ Dalrymple: Constitutional Convention, Texas, 1866.

observed both in and out of Congress. There were many so-called progressives in both branches of the Legislature who were reformers in name only. They were committed to party platform and tried to justify their political affiliation by following, to a certain point, Sumner and Elliot of Massachusetts and Stephens of Pennsylvania in their interpretation of reconstruction; but true progress, and particularly in labor, was apparently not their goal. Hence, the work of labor reformers, supported by the votes of Negro Representatives in the Forty-second Congress lost its importance in American economic system.

Many factors contributed to this travesty of reform. It was inconceivable that the masters of Northern industry, through their growing control of American government, were going to allow the laborers of the South any more real control of wealth and industry than was necessary to curb the political power of the planters and their successors. And the object of the Freedmen's Bureau was to ignore the claim of capitalists and extend to all American labor that freedom of contract that would raise the economic level of the whole nation. Some compromise would have to be reached in this desperate effort to restore a social and economic life to the people of the United States in defiance of past custom, in the face of a great labor movement of white and black and in a bitter strife with a new political framework and a new capitalism. Each of these contending groups gave, and still

gives, a different interpretation to reconstruction. To the Negro, freedom was a divine revelation; to the poor white, freedom meant nothing since he had more than he had use for; to the planter of the South, freedom for the poor was an instrument to promote laziness, and for the rich it was opportunity to control the worker; for the northern business man it opened up the way to become rich by subverting justice to labor in offering low wages in a crowded labor market. Yet, amidst all these differences of opinion agreement was possible among the conflicting interests, and, in contemporary times, the agreements become an unwritten contract between a portion of those interests. It was the agreement between the North and the South that labor must produce profits. Labor, on the other hand, wanted to share in the profits arising from its toil. The path of understanding becomes clear when northern and southern employers agreed that profit was more important than the method of getting it. The end of progress for an early labor movement was in sight when white workers were convinced by capital that the degradation of Negro labor was more fundamental than the uplift of the whole laboring class.

The end came on June 10, 1872 when a law was passed providing for the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau, effective June 30 of the same year, at which time the whole affair of the Bureau was turned over to the War Department for settlement.

Whatever might have been the merits of this phase of reconstruction, it may be said with a fair degree of certainty that the conditions of the time presented the greatest opportunity for a real labor movement, but labor never realized the situation. It never had the leadership and intelligence to see in reconstruction the meaning of the labor movement in the United States.

The failure in lifting labor to the level of justice in the economic scene in the years of reconstruction has created many stumbling blocks in the path of social progress for the years which followed. Economic justice became a mockery for American labor until recent times; and particularly was this true for unskilled labor. Efforts were occasionally made after a period of labor disturbance to remedy the ills created by strikes and lockouts. In these efforts, the Negro Congressmen who served during the late eighties participated.

Coming along with the growth of the factory system and giving support to legislative measures leading to a healthy growth of such a system, they were soon faced with the complications which the system bears. The late seventies was productive of problems and difficulties in labor never before experienced in American economic development. These difficulties of labor in the rise of the factory system were social corollaries which were direct products of American domestic economy. The unrestrained profits of industry and the limitation placed upon wages by cheap labor supply, created strained

relationship between capital and labor. The attempt of the railroads to reduce the wages of workers offers one example of the turn in employer-employee relationship established by the railroad strike of 1877. Upon many roads, employees struck to restrain employers from reducing their wages. Upon others a portion struck and compelled those who were willing to remain to quit their employment. Freight trains were entirely suspended and in some cities disturbances culminated in the destruction of large amounts of merchandise in transit. In some localities, the civil authorities invoked the aid of the State Militia. In Missouri, collision between striking employers and local authorities took place, resulting in the loss of life. In some sections, the authority of the United States was used to suppress riots.

No sooner had a settlement been reached in this labor dispute than periodic strikes and lockouts followed and continued for many years. The subject of conciliation and arbitration was one that attracted the attention of the industrial world for many years before these disturbances, but no definite solution was ever offered by any central authority. The power of monopoly and corporations grew by leaps and bounds and labor suffered by that power proportionately. By 1886, there was an aggregated capital in American railroads amounting to eight billion dollars with a total

labor force of six hundred and fifty thousand.¹

In this year questions regarding the inequality of bargaining between capital and labor arose. While capital had every facility for enforcing its exactions, there were no adequate means by which labor could enforce its right. Congressional interest in this matter was expressed in a bill for labor arbitration in the Forty-ninth Congress. It sought to establish a national body to mediate the disputes arising between the forces of capital and labor. During his discourse on the bill, James E. O'Hara made some informing remarks in opposition to those Congressmen who believed that "the great spirit of liberty would be crushed" by the passage of legislation setting up a national mediation board of this nature. He further made it clear that he did not share the opinion of the Representative from Kentucky that the bill, if enacted into law, would cause the American nation to "retrograde."

Stating that he represented a constituency composing a large class of unorganized labor with whom capital has never felt it its duty to come to terms, he pleaded with members of the House to endorse the \$77,000,000 measure designed to set up a national arbitration body to deal with the disputes arising between labor and capital. Considering it the duty of the legislative branch of government to supply the

¹ From Debate in the House of Representatives on a bill to create a Board of Arbitration to settle labor disputes: 49th Congress, 1st Session, P. 3029.

necessary link between capital and labor in the national chain of economic progress, he declared: "the Constitution is broad enough and strong enough to allow the Congress of the United States to step in and assist the people in their difficulties by arbitration."

Defending the measure against assertions that the money so appropriated would go toward the education of a certain class, O'Hara concluded amid applause that "seventy-seven million when taken from the Treasury of the United States will return in bounty fifty-fold." He assured those who looked upon it as class legislation that "it will be for the education, not of a certain class of people, but for all the people of the United States." He gave assurance to the House that "it will be one of the greatest levers than can be used to bring about a settlement between these two mighty interests, labor and capital; it will educate the laborers of the country to that extent that he will be enabled to maintain his rights within the law; it will enable him to justly appreciate such settlement as may be made by arbitration and thus tend to elevate the entire masses of the people."¹

It was quite clear in his mind that bales of cotton, miles of railroad, tons of coal and ignots of metal could never be the true measure of civilization while labor

¹ Congressional Record, 49th Congress, 1st Session, P. 3049.

remained at the lower rung of the national economic ladder. He knew that the wealth of the nation could never be apportioned to a privileged few who controlled great corporate interest without bringing serious social ills to the rest of the population. He was living in a period when the signs of distribution of the national wealth were pointing in this direction. The policy of capital in its dealing with labor was to avoid all means of arbitration and mediation. Capital's preference in cases arising out of labor difficulties was to encourage immigration of cheap foreign labor as a threat to domestic workmen.

In the year in which the bill was introduced, the number of foreign immigrants to the United States numbered approximately half a million.¹ This exceeded the arrivals of the preceding year by more than forty percent. Many of these were unskilled laborers whose presence had the potentiality to depress American wage scale to an unsatisfactory level.

Unemployment among skilled and unskilled domestic labor was approximately one million and those employed were receiving wages inadequate for family subsistence. There were other factors which influenced labor disturbances at this period. The factory system had created a great subdivision of labor. In the old system of trades and manufacture, one man performed all or a greater portion of the work, but under

¹ The Forum, Sept. 8, 1887, P. 8.

the new order of labor his efforts were restricted to a single part. With this division of labor came the need for grading the work and regulating the price to be paid for it. This was the difficult task, and around which the contention of earlier employer-employee disputes revolved. The manufacturers desired to receive the benefits from whatever improvements the introduction of machinery brings; but labor was not anxious to encourage them in their efforts. The inability of the workers to obtain what they considered their just due from the profits of industry gave rise to many of the early labor troubles. To the forward thinking Congressman who watched the displacement of manual labor by machinery, the wisdom of establishing a national board of mediation was unquestioned. They argued strongly for a positive injunction upon Congress to assume the obligation of a national system of arbitration as a matter both of justice and of public policy.

Their ideas on the expansion of the social frontier did not end with legislation in the interest of labor. The question of health was equally attractive. Among the wide range of subjects in which Lynch maintained interest was his support of a measure to appropriate funds for the establishment of a National Board of Health.¹

¹ Congressional Record, 47th Congress, 1st Session,
PP. 6898-6899

In his debate on the question, he conceded the right of States to make laws necessary for the welfare of all its citizens, but in the case "where an epidemic knows no State lines" he argued for a national authority through which the power of the government may be exerted. Convinced that nothing could form a more proper subject of national legislation than the public health, he insisted that public safety requires "an appropriation sufficient to enable the board to prevent the importation and spread of yellow fever and other diseases." In his concluding remarks, he stated "There is only one objection I have to the bill, it does not go far enough."

O'Hara in the 49th Congress was responsible for a bill (House Resolution #1690) offered for the regulation of health in restaurants and other public places in the District of Columbia.¹ In this measure, there was some success, but others which were intended for a wider national coverage failed to meet the approval of those members of Congress who held to the principles of State Rights. These principles hindered their plan of social expansion.

¹ Congressional Record, 49th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 17, P. 437.

VII

WELFARE

In case of some Negro Congressmen measures designed either to promote the welfare of the Negro race or to give some recognition to its achievement were of some importance. They were also concerned with relief to particular groups of citizens.

The debate on the civil Appropriation Bill in the Forty-second Congress found Rainey offering amendment, and seeking appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars to pay the salaries of government agents whose duty it was to find legal claimants for bounty or prize money, or other legitimate claims of colored soldiers and sailors, and to meet the expenses incidental to the functions of the Freedmen's Bureau. In the same Congress, Elliot sought amendment to the Deficiency Appropriation Bill authorizing the Secretary of War to furnish the National Freedmen's Association with clothing and bedding, the value of which was not to exceed five thousand dollars.¹ Relief for the citizens of Beaufort County, South Carolina was sought by Rainey in the second session of the Forty-second Congress.² A bill for the relief

¹ 42nd Congress, 1st Session, P. 620.

² 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, P. 1214.

of the Masonic Lodge of Georgetown, damaged during the war was also introduced in this session by him.¹

During the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress, Bruce confined his efforts largely to the relief of legal heirs of Negro soldiers who had fought to preserve the Union. Consequently he introduced and guided to passage a number of bills requesting the payment of arrears of pensions.²

In the Fifty-first Congress, Thomas E. Miller submitted two measures in the interest of the Negro race.³ He first proposed the establishment of a home for indigent Negro soldiers, and the other sought to authorize the erection of a monument in commemoration of the Negro soldiers who fought for the Union in the Civil War.

The world's Columbia Exposition received much consideration during the first session of the Fifty-second Congress. Henry P. Chatham of North Carolina urged that Congress make provision for exhibiting at this fair, the facts and statistics of the progress that the Negro had made during his thirty years of freedom. He also proposed a measure which sought to have printed the historical record of the Negro troops in the wars in which they had participated. When the

¹ 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, P. 680.

² During his six years in the Senate, Bruce served on the Committee on Pensions, on Manufactures, Education and Labor, and on the Committee for the improvement of the Mississippi.

³ Congressional Record, 51st Congress, 1st Session, PP.10,707; 10,708.

question arose in the Fifty-third Congress regarding the proposal that federal aid be extended to the Atlanta Exposition, George W. Murray favored the measure because, he stated, it would allow an opportunity to the Negro race to exhibit the progress that had been made during the thirty years after the freedom of the race from slavery.¹

Presenting ninety-two different patents held by Negro inventors, including telephone transmitter, folding chairs and electric switch for railroad, he argued, in the Fifty-third Congress that inasmuch as these patents covered "improvements and inventions in the workshop, on the farm, in the factory, on the railroad, in the mine, in every department of labor, and some of the most important improvements that go to make up that great motive power of modern industrial machinery--the steam engine," the Negro race should have an opportunity to prove his contributions to civilization.² He closed his remarks on the question of the Exposition by inferring that the investment would serve to bring about better race relations between white and Negroes of the country.

Measures proposed by George H. White of North Carolina to the Fifty-sixth Congress, tended mainly to promote the welfare of the Negro race.³ One of these was a resolution

¹ Congressional Record, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, P. 8382.

² 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, P. 8382.

³ Congressional Record, 55th Congress, 2nd Session, P. 3153; 56th Congress, 1st Session, PP. 166, 372, 594, 791; 56th Congress, 2nd Session, P. 188.

for the consideration of a bill to provide a home for aged and infirm Negroes. Other measures of this sort were bills to pay the wages of the Negro Civil War-time employees withheld by the War Department, and to provide for the exhibit of the education and industrial progress of the Negro at the Paris Exposition in 1900. Measures with such racial labels failed to become laws, but are important for this study inasmuch as they give some reflection on the thinking of these men in matters pertaining to public finance.

Measures of this type may be the subject of adverse criticism, but it is safe to say that they were not pre-eminent in the acts of these Congressmen. Most of the bills of this character met one of two fates. They were either reported adversely by committee or defeated in open session of the House after debate. The records of Congress show that the motives which compelled Negro Congressmen to propose bills of the above character were the same as those underlying the actions of other legislators of their day. Although Congress has not always been responsive to national sentiment, yet on most occasions it never failed to act when its mandate is sufficiently audible. Whatever might be the merits of the work of these earlier Negro Congressmen, it must be admitted that they were the products of Congressional government: they reflected the public opinion of their country in a great many respects.

With the beginning of the Twentieth Century came the end of the type of Congressmen from the South--produced by reconstruction. In summing up his opinion on Negro legislators of the South for the period, former Governor Chamberlain of South Carolina, in acclaiming their loyalty, said: "The black South was equal to the needs of the hour--lacking in experience to be sure, but with the ballot as their teacher and inspiration, capable of assuring good government."¹

Twenty-eight years after this utterance, the next Negro Congressman was sworn in as a representative from the first Illinois district while a public sentiment of the South shaped a code of social structure in which the Negro formed an unimportant part.

¹ Reconstruction in South Carolina, Atlantic Monthly, April, 1901.

VIII

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS

The economic changes which took place from the close of the Nineteenth Century up to more recent date when the next Negro representatives were seated in Congress, suggest that the work of these latter Congressmen be dealt with separately from those who served from the Forty-first Congress until the beginning of the Twentieth Century. The following pages will take in account the economic thinking of those representatives of later date.

Contemporary problems in government have taken on a different color from those of the eighties both in the matter of foreign as well as domestic policy. Old customs and old ideas have given way to the new. The whole economic scene has changed and these changes bring on new methods and extended thinking in Congress. The need today is not one of internal material improvement. Congress no longer concerns itself with bills making appropriations to subsidize railroad constructions etc., its attention is directed more toward controlling the operations of them.

While present economic ideas are addressed to the development of internal trade and the protection of them from intrusion of a world market, they, at the same time, embrace reciprocal trade agreements with other nations.

These ideas, together with the problem of the pricing of new wealth become the basic American issue. The pricing of wealth becomes the issue because upon that price rests the foundation for the national income necessary to support the government and to maintain the American population at a standard of life that will keep that population in a loyal and happy frame of mind.

During the years dating from reconstruction up to the year 1900, national wealth was produced in such profusion that scientifically managed distribution was of secondary importance. No one paid attention to the relationship between the amount of wealth produced and the price and volume of wages; but today labor complained and organized because it felt that it was not getting its share. Farmers do the same to fight for a larger share of the nation's prosperity; capital and industry organize and fight back to hold those advantages they had gained through privileges obtained from government by way of the favoring laws of earlier years when geographical frontiers were being developed. In short, the scene has changed to one of expansion of the social frontier in an economic society which is preparing the group mind to meet a group world of mass production and economic concentration. It was among these changes that Oscar De Priest was seated as a member of the Seventy-first Congress April 15, 1929 after a special election due to the death of Martin B. Madden of the 1st Congressional District,

taking in parts of South Chicago.¹

With De Priest, the political hopes of the Negroes in America have revived. To them he becomes the symbol of political rebirth. The sign, as it were, of a new era in which millions of Negro Americans will have at least a part of their share of federal offices.

Like his predecessors and other Congressmen of his time, he introduced bills and resolutions for individual relief. His resolutions in this category dealt with petitions either in support of increase of pensions to Civil War veterans or with bills providing for increased rates of pensions to the men who served in the armed forces of the United States during the Spanish War period.² Those dealing with aid to individuals or society were presented in the 72nd Congress.³

On the question of education for Negro youths, De Priest was as strong in sentiment as Rainey, sixty years before him and Langston in the Fifty-first Congress.

Giving active support to the bill providing appropriation to Howard University, he pointed out to those opposing the measure that Howard University acts as a clearing house

¹ See Appendix, P. 5.

² Congressional Record, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, PP. 1142, 1558, 3125, 8818; Congressional Record, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, PP. 2298, 5710, 410.

³ Congressional Record, 72nd Congress, 1st Session, PP. 149, 1404, 2764, 3563, 4582; Congressional Record, 72nd Congress, 2nd Session, PP. 2193, 2723, 5521, 6508.

to furnish teachers to the Negro children of the South, where in many States the normal schools for this type of training is either inadequate or not in existence.¹

Throughout his term of office, he could be found placing approval on bills presented in the interest of education.² He fought vigorously in the Seventy-second Congress to have appropriation providing for buildings and grounds for the public schools of the District of Columbia, and argued for apportionment according to the proportion which white and Negro youths bear to each other in the school population of the District.

Again in the second session of the 73rd Congress, when the bill providing for an annual appropriation of \$3,750,000 for the development of vocational education was brought up for debate, De Priest offered his support to the measure and protected the interest of Negro youths by offering an amendment which "provided that in States and territories where there are separate schools between white and colored pupils, the funds herein mentioned shall be divided according to population based on the United States Census."³

The salary differential for professional teaching has always affected him as an act of glaring injustice directed

¹ Congressional Record, 71st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 74, Pt. 1, P. 656.

² Congressional Record, 72nd Congress, 2nd Session, PP. 585, 588, 936, 942, 4427; Congressional Record, 73rd Congress, Second Session, PP. 6856, 6963.

³ Congressional Record, 73rd Cong., 2nd Sess., PP. 7476, 9492.

to create economic inequality for Negro educators of the southern and border States and the District of Columbia.

One of the first acts introduced by De Priest upon taking his seat in Congress was one to eliminate the practice of inequality in wage scale for teachers in the public schools of the District of Columbia.

In the Seventy-first Congress, he introduced and guided to passage a bill appropriating \$526,035 as refunds to colored assistant public school directors of the District of Columbia--a sum illegally withheld through salary differential between white and Negro teachers.¹ There are other sections of the nation in which the same situation exists regarding wage differential for professional teachers, but the remedy to such economic ill can be prescribed only to the extent that the Federal Government is willing to subsidize education on a national scale.

Safeguards for equitable distributions of the funds from federal grants-in-aid to States for vocational education is being provided by amendments, but in spite of such safeguards, Negro citizens of the Southern States have been denied a just share of these funds. Of the \$16,846,275 of federal money allocated to land grant colleges for the education of white and Negro students in seventeen southern and border States in the year between 1935 and 1936, the colleges for Negroes

¹ Congressional Record, 71st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 74, Pt. 6, P. 6323.

received but five and a half percent of this money directly and nine percent indirectly. This total of 14.5% represents only 42.5% of the fair share of the funds based on a population ratio in which Negroes represent twenty-three percent of the population in those States sharing in such federal grants.

According to the United States Bureau of Education, Negroes in Missouri, who form over six percent of the population received only eight-tenths of one percent of the funds distributed by the federal government for higher education in that State.¹ Ninety-nine and two-tenths percent of these grants went to the rest of the citizenry who comprised 93.8% of the population.²

These differentials in allocation of federal funds for educational purposes show a glaring departure from the whole intent of legislation. Arthur Raper, research and field secretary of the Atlanta, Georgia Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, devotes one chapter in his book, "Preface to Peasantry," to the question of inequalities in the distribution of funds for educational purposes in Georgia. In this chapter, he points out how legislation with honorable purposes was subverted in Georgia during 1934. It is revealed in his work that the total federal expenditure for educational

¹ Biennial Survey of Education, Chapter IV, Pt. V
Table PP. 486-487.

² Ibid.

purposes in Georgia through the summer of 1934 was almost five million dollars. Of this amount, well over two and a half million dollars, were allocations for the improvement of school property under grants to the Civil Works Administration and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Only 12.4% of the money spent through these agencies went to improvement for Negro schools.¹

When viewed from ^{the} surface, the average citizen may dismiss this situation with a shrug of the shoulder, but looking at the problem from a long run point of view, the entire nation suffers from the rebound and impact of discriminatory tactics in the handling of grants for education. One Example will serve to illustrate this point. The average per capita expenditure for every pupil throughout the nation in 1930 was \$99. The expenditure for the education of white children in the southern States was \$44.31. This is less than half the national average. The average per capita expenditure for Negro children was \$12.57. This was about one-eighth that of the average pupil in the nation as a whole and approximately one fourth that of southern white children.

The result of this unequal distribution of funds for education is found in the lowering of the whole standard of living of the family. The purchasing power of this unit of

¹ Preface to Peasantry, University of North Carolina Press, 1936, P. 310, Arthur F. Raper.

society being lowered, there follows ill health which undermines the potential possibility for aid in building a wholesome community life. Another bi-product of insufficiency in educational grants or mal-administration of such grants is evident in migratory workers who lack either the skill for the nation's growing industrial demand or the ability to bargain for their own economic advantage. Ultimately, what started out to affect only a few in a single community, turns out to be a battering ram that weakens the social and economic structure of the whole country. No segment of society escapes the social reprocussion which such a system embraces, and it is in this thinking that most of the Negro Congressmen up to De Priest shared. The view on the problem of popular education as expressed from the years of reconstruction does not find the lack of universal education for the masses of the nation an evil abiding in itself alone. It reaches into other spheres of the national life. The labor market suffers more often than the public is willing to admit when the educational level of the population falls below a reasonable level. The inability of the labor market in any given community to supply intelligent labor to meet industrial needs has a tendency to drive capital away from such a community. The lack of capital in any given community causes the uneducated labor to move at the beginning of its production years to sections where capital can be found.

The standard of wages fixed by the presence of such a worker moving freely among the ranks of labor lowers the levels of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the area to which he has migrated. This situation is productive of evil not only to the individual worker, but to society on a broad front.

A brief examination into the system of providing too little education for the laboring class reveals the extent to which this evil may be passed on from one element or political unit to another. We have already observed the effect in the ranks of labor in any community to which the uneducated labor has migrated. It is well to consider next what happens to the community from which he has migrated. It loses its investment in the scanty education which it gives the worker up to his productive years and receives nothing in return. The worker, not being educated sufficiently to command high wages in the region to which he has traveled, fails to increase the living standard of the family unit. A situation of this sort forces other members of the family to seek employment to make ends meet. These conditions in the labor market tend to depress wages further. The economic structure of the local community is thus undermined by this tendency by denying it adequate tax resources to carry on a program worthy of an enlightened government.

This dreadful tendency of meager education, low wages and poverty to become self perpetuating reaches out to

plague society through poll taxes in some communities, sales taxes in another, while taking on a different form in others.

The recent efforts of labor organizations to supply for the workers that which they lack in education have met the greatest difficulties among the ranks of the lower paid and uneducated workers; thus their bargaining power is assisted only by the better educated workers who recognize some economic salvation through organization.

The savings which a government effects through curtailment in education to the masses of its citizens is lost when the uneducated worker serves to reduce the national economic standard in the productive years of his labor. These were the thoughts which Negro Congressmen seem to have shared with a few other members of Congress in the earlier years of their services and it is the view taken by the modern minds who wish to see a standard of living established in which no portion of the population is left out. The present system of federal grants-in-aid to States for vocational education may well be a part of the answer to the problem of raising the labor standards and wage levels of American working men.

The general tendency among laborers of more recent times is to accept the fact that the net result of any denial of education to any segment of the working population is the same for the American people whether they live in the southern, western or northern States. The mandate of this class of American citizenry will assist in bringing fulfill-

ment that hope which Negro Congressmen cherished from 1870 to the services of De Priest as a Congressman.

Perhaps De Priest renders his best services to the cause of education, but his attention was directed to other fields of public financing as well. In every field of his interest, he has been as outspoken against those aspects of legislation with which he did not agree as he was articulate regarding those with which he agreed. As an economy measure, he opposed the bill carrying appropriation of \$25,000,000 to be used by the American Red Cross in drought relief. In stating his opposition to the bill, he expressed that while he is in sympathy with the work of the American Red Cross, he would not join those "asking for public funds to make mendicants out of the American people. . . I am against establishing the dole system in America."¹

The economic changes which came over the nation shortly afterwards due to the depression, changed his attitude toward relief. To the unemployment appropriation bill in the Seventy-third Congress, he gave his approval, and caused to be inserted in the bill a provision that in employing citizens "for the purpose of this act, no discrimination shall be made on account of race, creed, or color."²

¹ Congressional Record, 71st Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 74, Pt. 1, P. 3648.

² Congressional Record, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 77, Pt. 1, P. 983.

To the agricultural appropriation bill¹ (House Resolution #7912) during the first session of the 72nd Congress, he gave his support although his sympathy was with the economy block, throughout the debate on the bill. On the "economy" bill providing merger of the army and navy on the theory of saving \$100,000,000, De Priest maintained the view that relatively little would be saved through the merger and agreed with the majority of House members that the plan would impair the efficiency of national defense.²

His support of the full appropriation of \$1,750,000 for the Chicago Exposition in 1933 was not without reason. Chicago was his district. The commercial value to his constituents would more than reward his efforts. In giving his approval to the \$550,000 item for building construction, he criticized his economy-bent colleagues. Pointing out that what the country needed for "the return of prosperity" was confidence and the stabilization of commercial conditions, he argued that that confidence could be created by providing employment. "I know of nothing before the House today," he said, "that will help create employment any better than the exposition in Chicago. . . Every dollar of that money will be used to create employment for American labor, either in the mills, the factories, or in the construction of the building."³

¹ Congressional Record, 72nd Congress, 1st Session, V. 75, Pt. 3, P. 2819.

² Congressional Record, 72nd Congress, 1st Session, V. 75, Pt. 8, P. 9321.

³ Congressional Record, 72nd Cong., 1st Sess., V. 75, Pt. 3, P. 3279

De Priest fell from the grace of his constituents partly because he clung too closely to the doctrines of Old Guard Republicanism at a time when liberalism was the need of the hour. His eyes were not fully open to the pressing social needs of the time brought about by the depression. "New Deal" philosophy had become the social and political creed of the economic "have nots" and the "forgotten man." He was succeeded in the 74th Congress by Arthur H. Mitchell in an election which overwhelmingly endorsed the "New Deal."

Bills and resolutions for individual relief had become a gesture of minor importance in this Congress. Mitchell addressed himself to the broader national questions, social security, old age pension, and work relief.

In his speech of approval of the social security bill, he was convinced that the "time has come when we ought to think of all the suffering people in the country," and he welcomed the "opportunity to vote for a most perfect and humane bill."¹ He realized that the conditions of the time called for not only a new day in politics, but a new and real sense of social responsibility to the poor and jobless laborers of the nation. He pointed out during his debate on the bill that private insurance was serving the interest of only the wealthier class in American life and appealed to his colleagues to consider, with favor, insurance for the unemployed and aged.

¹ Congressional Record, 74th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 79, Pt. 5, P. 5692.

His position on the broad social questions of his day together with views on public finance is expressed in his campaign speeches.¹ In one of these he declared: "The most dangerous element in our country today is that of enforced idleness, brought about largely by the cessation of work. I shall be in favor of any program which tends to furnish work for the people, even though such program incurs governmental expense, thus increasing taxation. I believe that idleness is a breeder of crime, which threatens the destruction not only of our institutions, but of the Government itself; and no monetary price to wipe out idleness and bring back prosperity is too great. . ."

On specific issues, Mitchell concerns himself first with looking after the interest of the people of the First Congressional District of his State, and secondly to the protection of the interest of the Negro race.²

His declarations of interest in his race are found in his various speeches in and out of Congress. He favors wiping out race discrimination in all phases of American life and supports legislations to extend the voting privileges to all citizens of the South.

His pledges to his constituents were: "to work to eliminate the practice of our Civil Service Commission

¹ Congressional Record, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 80, Pt. 7, P. 7559.

² Congressional Record, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, PP. 1363, 3658, 8537.

requiring applicants to submit photographs with their applications, to support legislations that would enable colored American citizens to enjoy the same wholesome benefits to be derived from the higher standards of living, increased wages and better housing conditions."

Through bills, amendments, and resolutions, he tried to fulfill his promise.¹

On the matter of civil rights, he expressed himself in the 3rd Session of the 75th Congress when he introduced a bill² (House Resolution #8821) to amend the Transportation Act so as to prohibit segregation of interstate passengers on railroads on account of race, color, or religion.

In succeeding Congresses like measures have been introduced.³ What he failed to accomplish by legislation has been granted by judicial decision.⁴

¹ Congressional Record, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, PP. 1002, 5886, 7557, 10567; Congressional Record, 75th Congress, 1st Session, PP. 138, 139, 470, 3385, 3541; Congressional Record, 75th Congress, 2nd Session, App., P. 476, 3rd Session, App., P. 2201; Congressional Record, 77th Congress, 1st Session, P. 12.

² Congressional Record, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. 83, Pt. 1, P. 74.

³ Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 84, Pt. 1, P. 27; Congressional Record, 77th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 85, Pt. 1, P. 12.

⁴ Supreme Court Decision, Mitchell vs. Pullman Company.

To the various anti-lynching bills brought up for debate before the House, he gave his support either through speeches or by amendments.¹

In the 3rd Session of the 76th Congress, he introduced and guided to passage a bill (House Resolution #8826) authorizing an appropriation to assist in the expense of the American Negro Exposition which was held in Chicago during 1940.

While many Congressional leaders were arguing for a balanced budget during the debate on the Agricultural Appropriation Act in February 1940, Mitchell pointed out the advantages which a like measure had provided for the small farmers of the nation and expressed himself in favor of the bill because under its provision, the "impoverished farmers of the South would be aided." He was out of sympathy with a balanced budget if in balancing, it would "close the door of opportunity to millions of our deserving citizens."²

Mitchell works closely with the farm block in the House. He is always found giving support to bills and legislation presented to assist the farm population of the nation when farm prices fall out of proportion to manufac-

¹ Congressional Record, 74th Congress, 1st Session, P. 784; Congressional Record, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, P. 7557; Congressional Record, 75th Congress, 1st Session, P. 139; Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, PP. 266-270, 282, 283; Congressional Record, 77th Congress, 1st Session, P. 12.

² Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, P. 1543.

tured goods. He works also with members of the House whose interest lieu with the tenant farmers in an effort to effectuate legislation to subsidize tenant farmers with a view to full economic rehabilitation.¹

¹ Congressional Record, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, PP. 1009-1010.

X

CONCLUSION

The attempt to investigate the works of Negro Congressmen with a view to appraise their economic thinking may have fallen short of its true goal. There may be many bills and resolutions introduced by them or which received their active support that are not treated in the pages above, but the investigation reveals that they were men whose minds were affected by the needs of their time. And while those needs fluctuate according to economic and political changes, there are two basic interests which are maintained by these Negro representatives throughout the years between the Forty-first and the Seventy-seventh Congresses: An ever present devotion to bills seeking civil rights as an instrument for mutual respect among the citizens of the United States and to those seeking enlargement of public financing to education through which the economic standard of the whole nation may be raised, while at the same time cultivating appreciation and respect for the institutions which are put together to make up the social, political, and economic framework of the whole nation.

It has always been the constant fear of these men whose works we have studied that the lack of education and denial of economic justice to the broad masses in society harbors the prospect of having millions of individuals as a static

quantity in a society which does not fit them to participate as full-fledged citizens in the development of American life.

In this view the prediction is that these citizens shall eventually become an effective block to hamper the social, political, and economic development of the nation that is now forging ahead on all fronts--on the battlefields, in the mines, on the farms and in the factories--for a better life for all its people. As purposeful as the "Atlantic Charter" may be for the general well-being of a free world, it is doubtful that it will reach its goal as long as an effective proportion of the American mind is still enchained to the heritage of the slave era.

Future historians of the United States might well marvel at the blindness of a people who allowed such a goodly number of its citizens to develop in a shroud of ignorance while a bright hope for the economic development of the masses is being cherished. When these historians shall have studied carefully the agencies which determine our national growth, they will conclude that a number of years in the development of American life were lost. These lost years followed the hopeful era of Reconstruction when America saw a bit of political progress but also a warped educational system whose effects, not alone on the South but throughout the United States, are only too apparent today.

In the appraisal of these years extending from 1868 to "Pearl Harbor" future historians will find the cause why one

third of the nation is "ill housed, ill clothed, ill fed" in a country filled with abundance of tools for the expansion of the social and economic well-being of a whole people.

XI

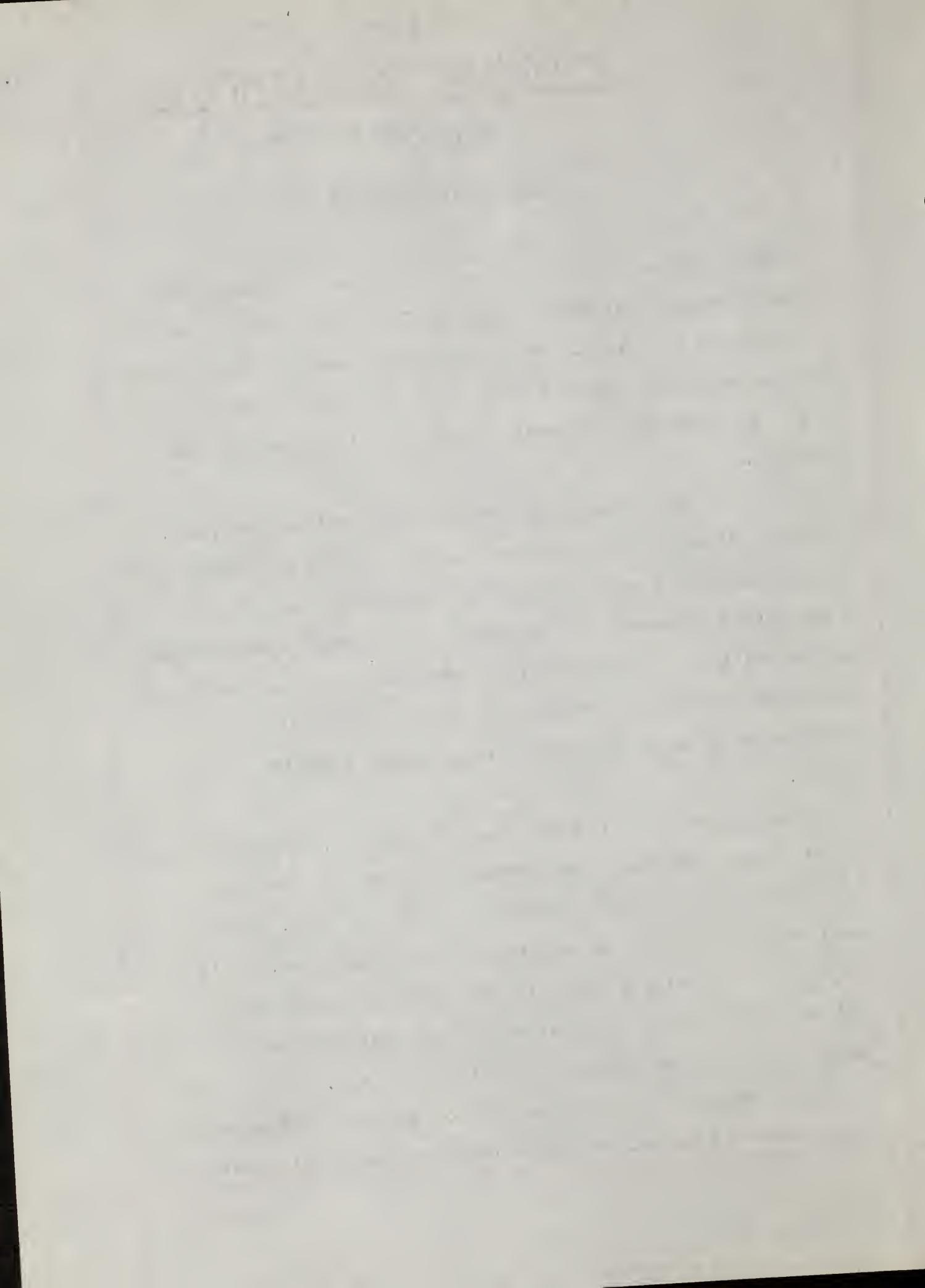
COMPREHENSIVE ABSTRACT

The completion of the plan of reconstruction of the United States Government after the Civil War brought political changes both local and national and ushered into Congress Negro representatives. Twenty-four such Congressmen have been seated in the National Legislature from 1870 to the present.

At the early stages of their entrance into Congress, the immediate problems with which the central government had to grapple was one of amnesty for former members of the Confederate Government. In this matter, Negro Congressmen expressed their opinions which vary from absolute denial of political privileges to leaders of the Confederacy to acceptance of those who have proven their loyalty to the Union.

Concurrent with the question of amnesty, the problem of civil rights demanded the efforts of Negro Congressmen throughout the periods of each of their services. In the many arguments given in support of these measures, it is frequently pointed out that the extension of civil rights to all men is not only a matter of social justice, but it is in accord with the enlightened spirit of the age.

The economic ideas of the Negro representatives found expressions in bills, legislations and amendments relating to



education, local improvements and the promotion of public works, commerce, tariff, health and labor.

With regard to education, popular opinion prevailed among all these men. They contend that the responsibility of the federal government to the American citizenry reaches into the field of education. Their arguments in behalf of this system of education finds support in the low average per capita cost of education at that time, in many States of the Union. The basis of the arguments rest on the belief that the natural result of the mental improvement of the country would be to create a better understanding of American institutions and thus cultivate a loyal disposition for them.

Measures providing for improved facilities for business in the districts or States represented by these men constituted some valuable services rendered. They sought and obtained subsidies for railroad constructions, appropriation for the improvements of rivers and harbors, and for construction of public buildings. The realization of the economic benefits which these improvements were capable of bringing to a community was the motivating force behind legislation pointing in their direction. The successful legislations of the earlier years in this regard justifies the efforts of all those who labored for community welfare in view of their proven importance to the commercial growth of the nation.

The political unity which resulted from the Civil War demanded, for its completion and continuity, economic unity

as well, and this brought new issues and evoked new policies relating to national welfare. Railroad construction continued to receive aid from the government and Congress was almost with one accord in seeing that a strong internal improvement be carried out to the fullest through the extension of this national utility.

This material reconstruction was designed to restore to the northern States the southern markets through which the renewed interchange of commodities would quicken national prosperity.

While this process for economic progress was continuing, other forces were working to compel the consideration of other means that would help to make for a more rounded plan for commercial development. Subsidy to the American Merchant Marine found favor with many Congressional leaders, and bills were introduced to test the feasibility of the plan. Arguments in support of subsidy pointed out the pitfalls in improving manufacturing, mining, agriculture and general enterprises when the national merchant marine is left undeveloped. The early stages of such arguments witness little results due to the high cost of labor and material required to go into shipbuilding. As science and inventions advanced, however, a cheaper means was found to produce materials necessary for ship construction. Material costs being thus reduced and labor cost having become more variable by the cheaper supply of immigrant labor, the entire overhead cost for the industry

and the other two were the same. The first was a small
one, the second a large one. The third was a small one.
The fourth was a large one. The fifth was a small one.
The sixth was a large one. The seventh was a small one.
The eighth was a large one. The ninth was a small one.
The tenth was a large one. The eleventh was a small one.
The twelfth was a large one. The thirteenth was a small one.
The fourteenth was a large one. The fifteenth was a small one.
The sixteenth was a large one. The seventeenth was a small one.
The eighteenth was a large one. The nineteenth was a small one.
The twentieth was a large one. The twenty-first was a small one.
The twenty-second was a large one. The twenty-third was a small one.
The twenty-fourth was a large one. The twenty-fifth was a small one.
The twenty-sixth was a large one. The twenty-seventh was a small one.
The twenty-eighth was a large one. The twenty-ninth was a small one.
The thirty-first was a large one. The thirty-second was a small one.
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The thirty-fifth was a large one. The thirty-sixth was a small one.
The thirty-seventh was a large one. The thirty-eighth was a small one.
The thirty-ninth was a large one. The forty-first was a small one.
The forty-second was a large one. The forty-third was a small one.
The forty-fourth was a large one. The forty-fifth was a small one.
The forty-sixth was a large one. The forty-seventh was a small one.
The forty-eighth was a large one. The forty-ninth was a small one.
The fifty-first was a large one. The fifty-second was a small one.
The fifty-third was a large one. The fifty-fourth was a small one.
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The sixty-sixth was a large one. The sixty-seventh was a small one.
The sixty-eighth was a large one. The sixty-ninth was a small one.
The seventy-first was a large one. The seventy-second was a small one.
The seventy-third was a large one. The seventy-fourth was a small one.
The seventy-fifth was a large one. The seventy-sixth was a small one.
The seventy-seventh was a large one. The seventy-eighth was a small one.
The seventy-ninth was a large one. The eighty-first was a small one.
The eighty-second was a large one. The eighty-third was a small one.
The eighty-fourth was a large one. The eighty-fifth was a small one.
The eighty-sixth was a large one. The eighty-seventh was a small one.
The eighty-eighth was a large one. The eighty-ninth was a small one.
The ninety-first was a large one. The ninety-second was a small one.
The ninety-third was a large one. The ninety-fourth was a small one.
The ninety-fifth was a large one. The ninety-sixth was a small one.
The ninety-seventh was a large one. The ninety-eighth was a small one.
The ninety-ninth was a large one. The one hundredth was a small one.

was reduced. A policy of high protective tariff on foreign materials finally set the stage for a profitable venture in shipbuilding and the path for federal subsidy was made clear.

This being accomplished, the United States entered again, fully, into the world of trade.

As a corollary to all these advancements, the question of tariff appeared on the scene of economic discussion. On this matter, there were as many divisions of thoughts as there were major interests in the country. The free-trader holds the view that all taxes on foreign merchandise exceeding the rates imposed on home production are unjust. Those who argue for tariff as a revenue measure only, rest their argument on the need of the national government to meet its expenses. The outright protectionist maintains the view that tariff for the protection of American merchandise is a patriotic duty to American labor and public finance. Negro Congressmen were found sharing this opinion from the Forty-first Congress through the Fifty-sixth.

Two arguments which supported this policy find support in the fact that protection was essential to the development of new industries and that an agricultural country needs such protection to guarantee a regular market. A compromise was reached between these contending forces, and in that compromise the belief was expressed that a tariff carefully presented and broadly applied is capable of aiding national economic independence. This is considered the "judicious system"

which is "reciprocal in their beneficial results."

The rapid growth of the factory system brings with it the problems of labor adjustments and health challenges. Here the interest of the workingman comes to grip with that of capital; and a satisfactory medium for the social good of a whole society would have to be reached. Such medium was seen in a bill for a National Board of Arbitration to settle the differences between the contending interests, but social vision was lacking at the time to bring about such an act.

Simultaneously with the idea of a body to arbitrate between capital and labor were thoughts directed toward the health of the American population. The idea prevailed among a minority that the impairment of health among the working classes will adversely affect the whole society. Through the lack of adequate protection for the health of such a class of society, industry is affected by loss of time in its productive process, national income decreases because of the loss of wages and salary and the educational status of the children of such working men impaired.

To some Negro Congressmen, measures designed to promote the welfare of the Negro race or to give recognition to its achievement were of importance. Bills seeking to appropriate funds for the benefit of the Freedmen's Bureau gave the earlier representatives an opportunity to express their views on the question of relief.



In the matter of promoting the achievement of the Negro race, numerous bills were introduced seeking appropriation to finance national exhibits. The bill dealing more with personal relief than any other sought to appropriate funds for Negro soldiers and sailors who fought in the wars of America.

The beginning of the Twentieth Century finds Congress without any Negro representatives and it was not until 1929 that the first one was seated after a lapse of twenty-nine years. By that time, the whole national scene had changed from one of an expanding economy to one of an economy of plenty. The problem becomes one of price and distribution of economic goods rather than one of production and protection. With these changes in economic condition the more recent Congresses address themselves to broad social questions in which the economic views of the Negro Congressmen of contemporary government also have a part.

A P P E N D I X



BRUCE, BLANCHE KELSO

Blanche K. Bruce, of Floreyville, Miss., was born in Prince Edward County Virginia, March 1, 1841, and raised as a slave, and tutored by his master's son, left his master at beginning of the Civil War and taught school in Hannibal, Mo. Later attended Oberlin College, Ohio. After the War he became a planter in Mississippi. Served as member of the Mississippi Levee Board; sheriff and Tax collector of Bolivar County 1872-1875. Elected to U. S. Senate in 1875 and served until March 3, 1881. Delegate to several Republican Conventions. Appointed by Garfield as Register of the Treasury in May 1881. Recorder of deeds for D. C. 1891-1893. Again Register of the Treasury 1897, until his death March 17, 1898.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 750

the following day. The weather was still so bad that we could not get away from the ship.

The following day we were able to get away from the ship.

We were able to get away from the ship.

We were able to get away from the ship.

We were able to get away from the ship.

We were able to get away from the ship.

CAIN, RICHARD H.

Richard H. Cain was born in Greenbrier County, Virginia, April 12, 1826. In 1831, he moved with his father to Gallipolis, Ohio, of limited education prior to his marriage, and having entered the ministry at an early age, he found it to his advantage, at the age of 35 years, to undertake formal study at a recognized school of learning. Following a career as clergyman, missionary and politician, he was elected to the 43rd Congress, and re-elected to the 45th. After his retirement from Congress, Mr. Cain was elected to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Fourteenth Bishop. Member of the State Senate 1868-1872; Manager of a Newspaper in Charleston in 1868. Elected to 43rd and 45th Congresses. Was not a candidate in 1874 and 1878. He died in Washington January 18, 1887.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 774

Note: listed as White in Fleming's "Documentary History of Reconstruction" P. 450 Vol. 1



CHEATHEM, HENRY PLUMMER

Henry Plummer Cheathem of Henderson, North Carolina was born at Granville, North Carolina, December 27, 1857. After acquiring an good education at Shaw University, he entered the teaching profession. Became Principal of the State Normal School for colored students at Plymouth, North Carolina in 1883-1884. Later he became interested in politics and was elected to the 51st and 52nd Congresses. Prior to his election to Congress he was register of deeds of Vance County, 1884-1888. Studied law but did not practice. Delegate to the State Convention at Raleigh, 1892-1900. Recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia, 1897-1901. Moved to Oxford, North Carolina in 1907, and became Superintendent of the North Carolina Colored Orphanage.

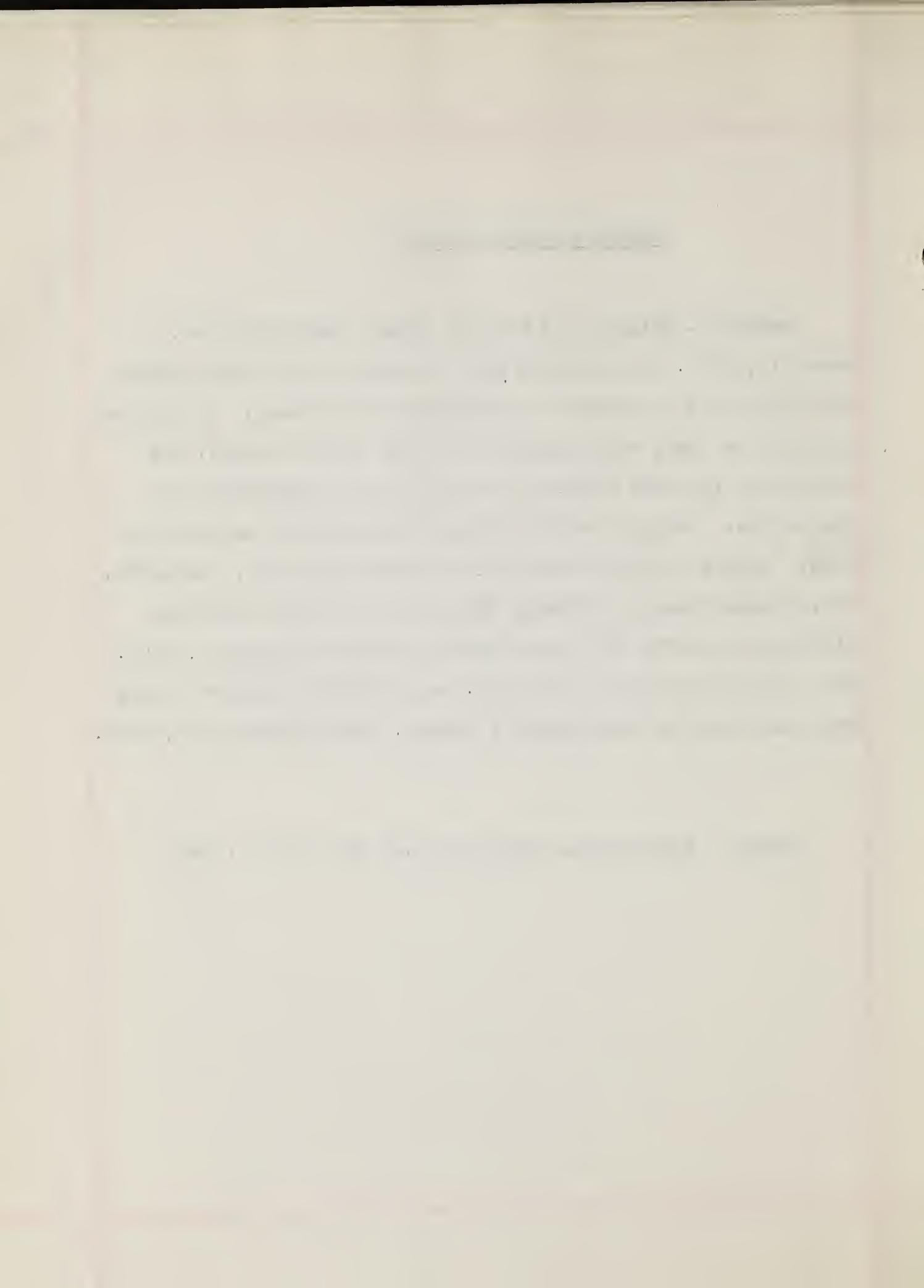
Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 805



DELARGE, ROBERT CARLOS

Robert C. DeLarge was born at Aiken, South Carolina, March 15, 1847. He received only a limited high school education and chose to pursue the occupation of farming. He entered politics in 1868, held several local and State offices, was elected to the 42nd Congress, became a local Magistrate at Charleston. Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention, 1868. Member of the State house of representatives, 1868-1870. State Commissioner of Sinking Fund; elected State land Commissioner in 1870, and served until elected to Congress, 1871. His seat was declared vacant Jan. 24, 1873-the election having been contested by Christopher C. Bowen. Died February 14, 1874.

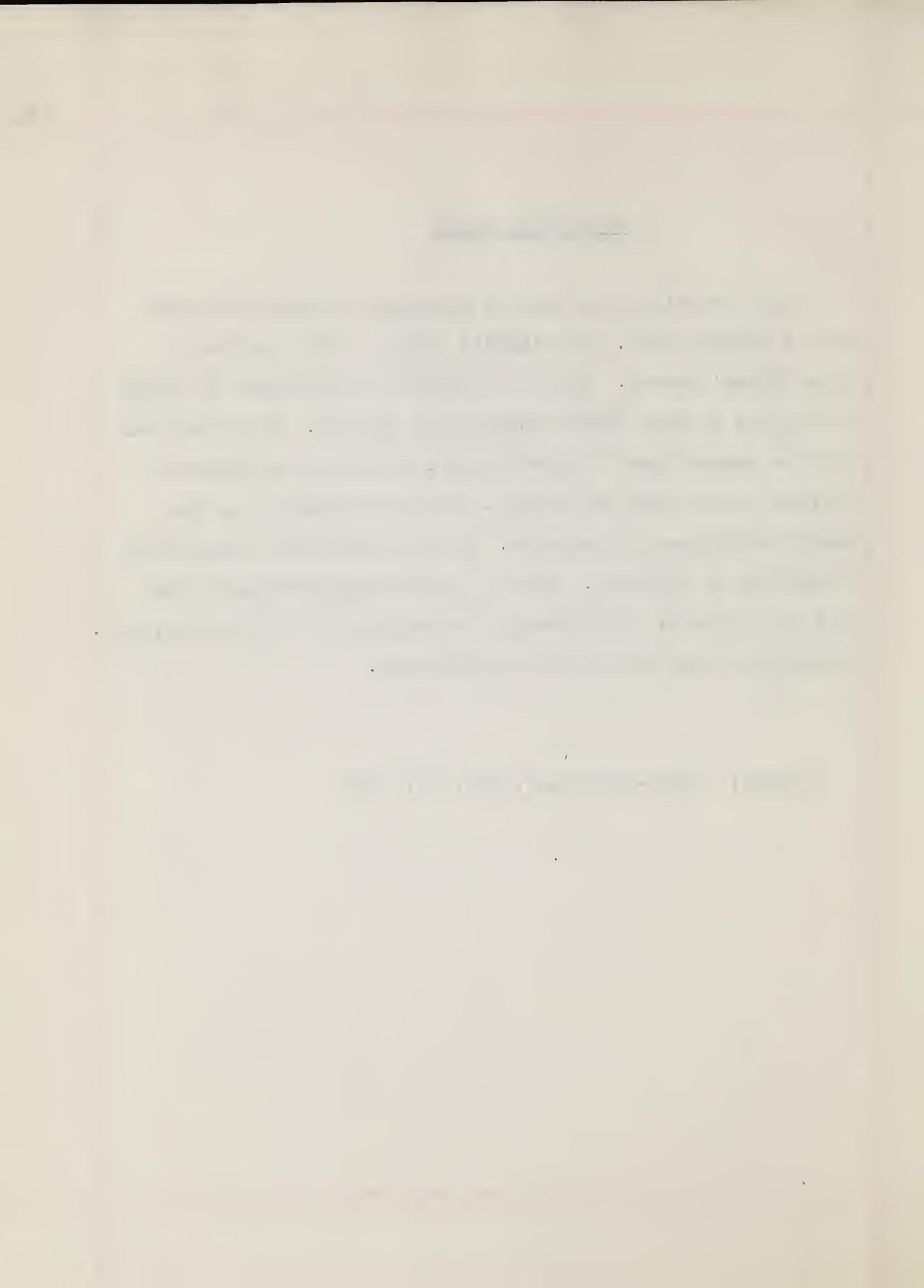
Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 896



DE PRIEST, OSCAR

Oscar De Priest was born in Florence, Alabama, 1871 and moved to Kansas 1878. He attended public school and the Salina Normal School. He was a painter and decorator by trade and engaged in Real Estate business in Chicago. He served two terms as commissioner of Cook County, Illinois; one term as Alderman in the city of Chicago. He was a Delegate to the Republican National Convention. He was assistant commissioner of Commerce of Illinois. He was elected Representative from the first district of Illinois, November 6, 1928 (71st Congress). Reelected to the 72nd and 73rd Congresses.

Source: "Afro-American", Feb. 14, 1942



ELLIOT, ROBERT BROWN

Robert Brown Elliot was born in Boston, Massachusetts, August 11, 1842. He was educated in England at High Hollow Academy, London 1853 and was graduated from Eton College in 1859. Studied Law and practiced in Columbia, South Carolina. Mr. Elliot was a member of the State Constitutional Convention 1868. Member of the State House of Representatives 1868-1870; Assistant Adjutant General of South Carolina 1869-1871. Elected to the 42nd and 43rd Congresses but resigned in 1874. Again member of the State House of Representatives 1874-1876 during which he served as speaker; unsuccessful candidate for election as state Atty. General 1876. Moved to New Orleans in 1881 and practised law until his death August 9, 1884.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory p. 941



HARALSON, JERE

Jere Haralson, was born in Muscogee County, Georgia, April 1, 1846. He was emancipated in 1865, after which he acquired through self instruction, a fair education. After moving to Alabama, he entered agricultural pursuits, the ministry and the politics of that State. Mr. Haralson was elected to the State House of Representatives in 1870, to the State Senate 1872; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1868 to the 41st Congress. Was elected to the 44th Congress in 1875-1877. Appointed to Pension Bureau in D. C. 1882; resigned 1884. Moved to Louisiana where he engaged in agricultural pursuits, and then on to Arkansas in 1904; served as pension agent for a short time; returned to Alabama and settled at Selma in 1912; moved to Texas and later to Oklahoma and Colorado and engaged in coal mining; killed by a wild beast near Denver about 1916.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 1058

HYMAN, JOHN ADAMS

John Adams Hyman was born a slave in Warren, North Carolina, July 23, 1840. He was sold and sent to Alabama, where he was emancipated 1865. Returning to North Carolina, Mr. Hyman engaged in farming and acquired a rudimentary education.

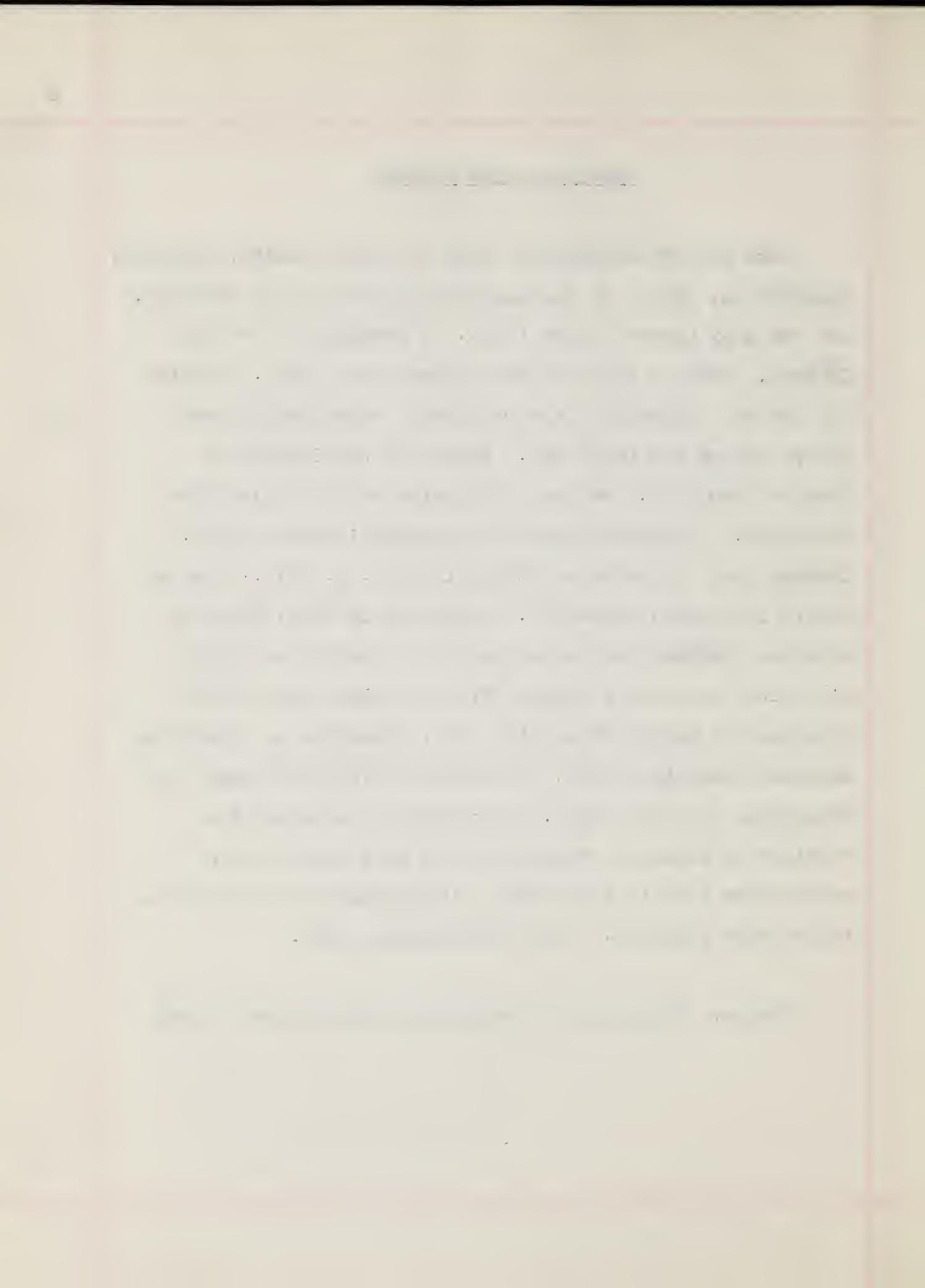
Entering politics in 1868, he served in the State Constitutional Convention 1868 and in the State Senate 1868-1874. He was later elected to the 44th Congress. In June 1877 he was appointed collector of Internal Revenue for the 2nd district of North Carolina, and served until June, 1878; Died, Washington, D. C., Sept. 14, 1891.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 1136

LANGSTON, JOHN MERCER

John Mercer Langston was born in Louisa County, Virginia, December 14, 1829. He distinguished himself as an educator, and won many honors in his field. A graduate of Oberlin College, 1849 and from the Theological Dept. 1842. Studied Law and was admitted to the bar 1854. Recruited Colored troops during the Civil War. Member of the Council of Oberlin 1865-1867. Member of the city board of education 1867-1868. Inspector General of Freedmen's Bureau 1868. Commissioner of the Board of Health of D. C. 1871. Dean of Howard Law School 1869-1876. Appointed by Pres. Hayes as minister resident and consul general to Haiti and charge d'affaires to Santo Domingo. Vice president and acting president of Howard University 1872. Delegate to Republican National Convention 1876. President of Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute 1890. Successfully contested the election of Edward C. Venable to the 51st Congress and served from 1890 to March 1891. Unsuccessful in election on to the 52nd Congress. Died in Washington 1897.

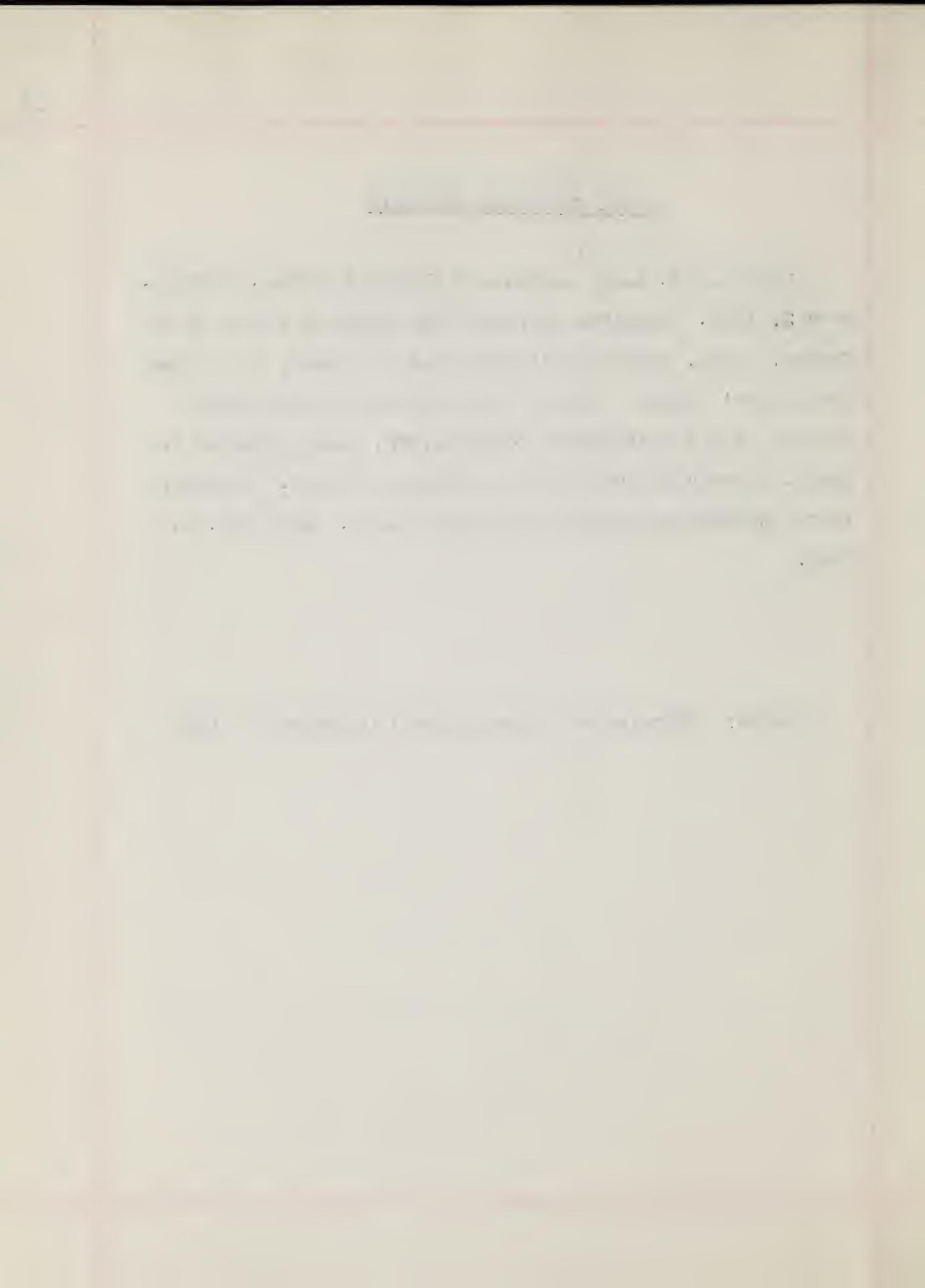
Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 1203



LONG, JEFFERSON FRANKLIN

Jefferson F. Long was born in Crawford County, Georgia, March 3, 1836. Sometime thereafter he moved to Macon, Bibb County, where, under the direction of his owner, he learned the tailor's trade. Prior to his election to the third session of the Forty First Congress, Mr. Long conducted in Macon, a thriving business as a merchant tailor. Delegate to the Republican National Convention 1880. Died Feb. 5, 1900.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 1236



LYNCH, JOHN ROY

John R. Lynch of Natchez, Mississippi, was born in Concordia Parish, Louisiana, Sept. 16, 1847. He attended evening school at Natchez for a few months, and by private study acquired an education. He engaged in the business of photography at Natchez until 1869. When Governor Ames appointed him a justice of the peace. Mr. Lynch served in the 43rd, 44th, and 47th Congresses, and was elected to the 45th Congress, but counted out. Prior to his election to Congress he served in the State House of Representatives 1869-1873, the last term as speaker. Delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1872, 1884, 1888, 1892, 1900. Chairman, Rep. State Executive Committee 1881-1889. Member Rep. National Committee from Mississippi, 1884-1889. Temporary Chairman Rep. National Convention to Chicago, 1884. Fourth Auditor of the Treasury Dept. under Pres. Harrison, 1889-1893; studied Law and admitted to the Miss. bar 1896. Practiced in Washington, was appointed a major and additional paymaster of volunteers during the Spanish American War. Appointed by McKinley a paymaster in the regular army with rank of Capt. 1901, promoted to major 1906. Retired 1911.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 1246

Standing Committees: Education, Labor and
Militia. Amendments offered to: Common
school, bill for support of Pension appropriation bill
~~River and Harbor appropriation bill.~~

MILLER, THOMAS EZEKIEL

Thomas E. Miller was born in Beaufort, South Carolina at Ferrybeeville, June 17, 1849. After acquiring an education at Lincoln University 1872, he entered politics. Mr. Miller held many local and State offices, and was nominated by his party in 1878, for the office of Lieutenant Governor of the State. Due however, to riotous actions of the Democratic party throughout the election that year, the ticket was withdrawn.

Mr. Miller was seated in the 51st Congress after a contested election with Col. Wm. Elliott. In 1896, he was elected president of the State Colored College at Orangeburg, South Carolina. Served as School Commissioner of Beaufort County, South Carolina, 1872. Studied Law and was admitted to the bar 1875. Served in the State Senate 1880. After failure to be re-elected to the 52nd Congress in 1890, he was elected to the State House of Representatives 1894. Member of the State Constitutional Convention, 1895.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 1315

MITCHELL, ARTHUR W.

Arthur W. Mitchell was born Dec. 22, 1883. He was educated at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, Columbia University and Harvard. He founded the Armstrong Agricultural School in West Butler, Ala., and taught school in the rural section of that State for many years. After obtaining a degree in law, he practiced in Washington, D. for ten years, then moved to Chicago where he carried on his practice from 1929 to 1934. He was elected to represent the first Illinois district in Congress in 1935, and became the first Negro Democrat to sit in Congress. He has served from that time until the present (1942).

Source: Afro-American, Feb. 14, 1942

MURRAY, GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington Murray was born of slave parents Sept. 22, 1853, near Sumter County, South Carolina, at Columbia. Taught school for 15 years. Mr. Murray was elected to the 53rd Congress, also the 54th, but secured his seat only after a successful contest with Wm. Elliot. Inspector of customs at port of Charleston, ~~South~~ Carolina, 1890-1882. Engaged in real estate business. Delegate to several Republican Conventions. Died in Chicago, April 21, 1926.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory
p. 1347

NASH, CHARLES EDWARD

Born May 23, 1844, Charles E. Nash was a native of Opelousas, Louisiana. He was educated at New Orleans, later following the trade of brick layer. In 1863, Mr. Nash served as a private in the Eighty-third Regiment, United States Chasseurs d'Afrique. He was later promoted to Sergeant-major, and lost a leg in the storming of Fort Blakely.

He was elected to the 44th Congress, but defeated for the 45th. Died June 21, 1913.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory, p. 1349

O'HARA, JAMES EDWARD

James E. O'Hara of Enfield, North Carolina, was born in New York City, Feb. 26, 1844. He acquired a liberal education, read law, and entered into politics of the state of North Carolina. Clerk of the Court Convention of North Carolina, 1868, also in the State House of Representatives 1868-1869. Chairman of the board of Commissioners for Hallifan County 1872-1876. Member of State Constitutional Convention 1875. Elected to the 48th and 49th Congresses, March 4, 1883-Mar. 3, 1887. Practiced law until his death Sept. 15, 1905.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory

p. 1369

RAINEY, JOSEPH HAYNE

Joseph H. Rainey was born of slave parents at Georgetown South Carolina, June 21, 1832. He received a limited education. After following the trade of a barber, he was compelled, in 1863, to work on Confederate fortifications. From this work he escaped, going to the West Indies, where he remained till the end of the war. Upon his return to the U. S. he entered politics. Served in the State Constitutional Congress 1868. Member of the State Senate, 1870 but resigned. Elected to the 41st Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the action of the House of Representatives in declaring the seat of B. Franklin Whittemore vacant. The first Negro to be elected to Congress. Was reelected to the 42nd, 43rd, 44th, and 45th Congresses, serving from Dec. 12th, 1870 to March 3, 1879; appointed internal revenue agent of South Carolina May 22, 1879, and served until July 15, 1881 when he resigned; Engaged in banking and the brokerage business in Washington, D. C., 1886. Returned to Georgetown, and died August 2, 1887.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 1440

RANSIER, ALONZO JACOB

Alonzo J. Ransier was born at Charleston South Carolina, January 3, 1834. He received a limited education; employed as a shipping clerk, 1860, and held various offices. In 1868, he was a presidential elector casting a vote for Grant and Colfax, while four years later he was a delegate to the Republican Convention. Member of a Convention of the Friends of Equal Rights at Charleston in 1865, and was deputied to present the memorial there framed to Congress. Member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1868-1869. President of the Southern State Convention at Columbia, 1871. Delegate to Republican National Convention in Philadelphia, 1872. Elected to the 43rd Congress (March 4, 1873-March 3, 1875). Internal Revenue Collector for the District of South Carolina, 1875-1876. Died in Charleston, South Carolina, August 18, 1882.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory P. 1444

RAPIER, JAMES THOMAS

James T. Rapier was born at Florence, Ala., November 13, 1837. He was sent to Canada to be educated. Studied law and admitted to the bar, taught school, also a newspaper correspondent. Mr. Rapier was a partisan in the split in the Republican Party in his State, aligning himself with one Spencer, a Republican leader of that date. Appointed a Notary Public by the Gov. of Ala., 1866. Member of the first Rep. Con., held in Alabama, and was one on the committee that framed the platform. Member of the State Constitutional Convention at Montgomery, 1867. Unsuccessful candidate for secretary of state, 1870: appointed assessor of internal revenue, 1871. State Commissioner to the Vienna Exposition, 1873. U. S. Commissioner to the World's Fair in Paris. Elected to the 43rd Congress (Mar. 4, 1873-March 3, 1875). Defeated for re-election to the 44th Congress. Collector of internal revenue for 2nd District of Alabama, August 8, 1878, and served until his death, May 31, 1883.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory p. 14446

REVELS, HIRAM RHODES

Hiram R. Revels was born at Fayetteville, North Carolina, September 27, 1827. Being unable to obtain an education in his own State, he moved to Indiana, and there began study for the ministry. Later, he graduated from Knox College, Illinois. He taught school in St. Louis, Missouri and accepted a pastorate in Baltimore, Maryland, 1860.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Mr. Revels assisted in the organization of the first two Negro regiments in Maryland. In 1864, he served as Chaplain of a colored regiment. Having made a record for service among his people in the central States, he went to Mississippi; and there became interested in managing the freedmen's affairs. He was elected to several local offices, Alderman in Natchez, Mississippi, 1868; State Senator, 1870. He served till 1871. He was Secretary of State at interim of Mississippi, 1873. After his retirement from Congress, Mr. Revels served as president of Alcorn University at Rodney, Mississippi, and later as a pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church at Richmond, Indiana. He died January 16, 1901 at Aberdeen, Mississippi while attending a church conference.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory, P. 1454.

SMALLS, ROBERT

Robert Smalls was born a slave at Beaufort, S. C., April 5, 1839. Debarred by statute from attending school, he availed himself of such limited educational advantages as he could secure.

In 1851, he moved to Charleston, worked as a rigger, and thereafter led a seafaring life. In 1861 he became connected with the "Planter", a steamer plying in the Charleston Harbor as a transport which he took over the Charleston bar in 1862 and delivered with his services to the commander of the United States blockading squadron.

He was appointed a pilot in the Quartermaster's Dept. of the U. S. Navy, and remained in the service until 1866 and meanwhile rose to the rank of Captain. Was pilot on the Monitor, Keokuk in the attack on Fort Sumpter. His rank of Captain was a promotion for gallant and meritorious conduct on Dec. 1, 1863 when he piloted the "Planter" out of Charleston harbor and delivered it to the Union forces in Boston. He was placed in command of the "Planter" and served until the vessel was placed out of Commission, 1868. Served in the State House of Representatives, 1868. As State Senator, 1870-1872; Delegate to Rep. Nat. Con., 1872 and 1876. Served in the 44th, 45th, 47th, 48th, and 49th Congresses.

In the State militia of South Carolina he held successively the commands of Lieutenant Colonel, Brigadier-general and Major general. The latter terminating with the

SMALLS, ROBERT (CONT'D.)

reorganization of the militia, 1877. His last public office was that of collector of the port of Beaufort, 1897-1913. He died Feb. 22, 1915.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory,
PP. 1532-1533.

TURNER, BENJAMIN STERLING

Benjamin Sterling Turner was born a slave at Halifax, North Carolina, March 17, 1825. In 1830, he moved to Alabama, where by clandestine study, he obtained a fair education. He became a prosperous merchant and was elected to several local offices. In 1867, he was elected tax collector of Dallas County. For the city of Selma in 1869, he was Councilman. He was elected to the 42nd Congress (March 4, 1871-March 3, 1873). He was Delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago, 1880. He was engaged in Agricultural pursuits in Alabama. He died in Selma, March 21, 1894.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory, P. 1631.

WALLS, JOSIAH THOMAS

Josiah T. Walls was born at Winchester, Virginia, December 30, 1842. He received a limited education, became a farmer and moved to Florida. In 1868, he entered politics and was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1868. He was State Senator from 1869 to 1872. He received a certificate of election as a representative from Florida to the 42nd Congress, but his seat was successfully contested by Silas Niblack. He was admitted, however, to the 43rd and 44th Congresses. In the latter Congress, his seat was contested by Jesse J. Frinley who succeeded him April 19, 1876. He resumed his occupation of farming, and died in Tallahassee, Florida, May 5, 1905.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory, P. 1662.

WHITE, GEORGE HENRY

George Henry White of Tarboro, North Carolina, was born at Rosindale, North Carolina, December 18, 1852. He acquired a college education, studied law, and engaged in practice in 1879 in New Ben, North Carolina. He became a member of the State House of Representatives. He served in the State Senate in 1884. He was solicitor and prosecuting attorney for the 2nd judicial district of North Carolina (1886-1894). He was delegate to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis, 1896 and in Philadelphia, 1900. He was elected to the 55th and 56th Congresses. He was engaged in banking. He died in Philadelphia, December 28, 1918.

Source: Biographical Congressional Directory, P. 1690.

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